

E501

. U58

~~861~~

~~No. 79~~

E 501

.U58

Copy 1

uary

ALLEGED HOSTILE ORGANIZATION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT WITHIN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

FEBRUARY 14, 1861.—Laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. W. A. HOWARD, from the select committee, submitted the following.

REPORT.

The select committee of five, appointed by the House on the 9th of January, 1861, respectfully submit the following report, in part:

On the 26th of January the following resolution was referred to said committee.

“Resolved, That the select committee of five be instructed to inquire whether any secret organization hostile to the government of the United States exists in the District of Columbia; and if so, whether any official or employé of the city of Washington, or any employés or officers of the federal government in the executive or judicial departments, are members thereof.”

The committee entered upon the investigation under a deep sense of the importance and the intrinsic difficulty of the inquiry. To prove the existence of a secret organization having for its object the resistance to and overthrow of the government would, in the very nature of the case, be a difficult task if such an organization really existed. On the other hand, in a time of high excitement, consequent upon revolutionary events transpiring all around us, the very air filled with rumors, and individuals indulging in the most extravagant expressions of fears and threats, it might well be thought difficult to elicit such clear proof as would enable the committee to pronounce authoritatively that no such organization existed, and thus contribute to the quiet of the public mind and the peace of the country. The committee have pursued their labors with a determination on their part to ascertain the real facts so far as possible; and if, sometimes, they have permitted inquiries and admitted testimony not strictly within the rules of evidence, or within the scope of the resolutions it is to be attributed to their great anxiety to elicit the real facts and to remove unfounded apprehensions.

The extraordinary excitement existing prior to the late presidential election led disaffected persons of high and low position, after the result of that election became known, to consult together on the question of submitting to that result, and also upon various modes of resist

ance. Among other modes, resistance to counting the ballots, to the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, the seizure of the Capitol and the District of Columbia, were discussed informally in this city and elsewhere. But too much diversity of opinion seems to have existed to admit of the execution of any well-organized plan, until some of the States commenced to reduce their theories of secession to practice. Since then persons thus disaffected seem to have adopted the idea that all resistance to the government, if there is to be any, should have at least the color of State authority. If the purpose was at any time entertained of forming an organization, secret or open, to seize the District of Columbia, attack the Capitol, or prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, it seems to have been rendered contingent upon the secession of either Maryland or Virginia, or both, and the sanction of one of those States.

Certain organizations in this District and in Maryland, that prior to the election seem to have been only political clubs, have since assumed the character of military organizations, are now engaged in drilling, and expect to provide themselves with arms, some from the State authorities, and others from private subscriptions. But so far as the committee were able to learn their purposes, while they sympathized strongly with secession, there is no proof that they intend to attack either the Capitol or the District, unless the surrender should be demanded by a State to which they profess a high degree of allegiance. Some of these companies in Baltimore profess to be drilling for the sole purpose of preventing other military companies from passing through the State of Maryland. Whether these representations of the purposes of these companies be correct or not, the committee have failed to discover any satisfactory evidence that they have any purpose whatever, as a mere mob, without the sanction of State authority, to attack the Capitol, or any other public property in this District, or to seize the District. If it should be admitted that any one of these organizations were hostile to the government, or entertained unlawful purposes, they are in no proper sense secret, and are therefore not such as are contemplated in the resolution of the House.

The committee are unanimously of the opinion that the evidence produced before them does not prove the existence of a secret organization here or elsewhere hostile to the government, that has for its object, upon its own responsibility, an attack upon the Capitol, or any of the public property here, or an interruption of any of the functions of the government.

The committee submit herewith all the testimony taken upon the subject, and ask that the same, and this report, be printed, and that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

No. 5.

TUESDAY, January 29, 1861.

JAMES G. BERRET sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. The House of Representatives on Saturday last adopted the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the select committee of five be instructed to inquire whether any secret organization hostile to the government of the United States exists in the District of Columbia; and if so, whether any official or employé of the city of Washington, or any employés or officers of the federal government in the executive or judicial departments, are members thereof.”

The committee have requested your attendance here for the purpose of ascertaining if you could give them any information upon that subject.

Answer. As mayor of the city of Washington my attention has been drawn, of course, to the various rumors that have found their way into the public press; and I have not confined my investigations to this city alone; they have extended beyond, both north and south of the Potomac. I have not been able to ascertain the slightest ground for any apprehension that there has been contemplated, or that there is likely to be contemplated, any foray or raid upon the city of Washington.

Question. Or to seize the public property?

Answer. Or to seize the public property, or to interfere with any public rights whatever. On the contrary, I am thoroughly convinced that while the peace of this city was never more literally under the control of the police than it is to-day, it will remain undisturbed in the future. Every indication points to that result; and unless some manifestation should be made, which we all shall be enabled to see—except for the purpose of keeping off the crowd, and keeping the streets clear on the fourth of March, in order that whatever pageant there may be shall not be interrupted—I shall deem it wholly unnecessary to add one solitary man to the police force of the city, except, as was the case of the inauguration of the statue of Washington, on the 22d of February last, when, you will remember, two hundred special police were appointed to keep the streets clear of carriages and vehicles of every kind, so that they might not crowd upon the procession. I know the people of Washington—I think I know them well; and I do not believe there is a solitary man in this city, with any claims to decency and standing, who would attempt to place the slightest impediment in the way of the peaceable inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. There are two organizations here: one started under the auspices of General Carrington, for the ostensible purpose of forming a military association; but after all, it was a mere political organization, a mere revival of an old political organization. And the same may be said in regard to another organization, whose resolutions have been spread before the public—an organization called the “National Volunteers.” That, too, is a political organization;

the revival of an old one. I know them to be not only respectable, but they are stakeholding citizens, a great many of them, who would scorn to do anything that would bring reproach upon the city. I would rely upon them, as I would upon a large majority of the gentlemen belonging to Captain Carrington's organization, as affording an efficient means of maintaining the public peace. In a single word, I will say to you, in all candor and frankness, that I consider the municipal authorities here, as at present constituted, without any increase of force, abundantly competent to maintain the peace of this city, and afford the amplest protection to life and property. Events may occur in the future to lead me to change that opinion; but that is my conviction now.

Question. Have you had your attention called to the question as to whether there was in existence here any secret organization?

Answer. Yes, sir; there is none.

Question. And that is all false?

Answer. Yes, sir; that grew out of this fact: This "National Volunteer" association or organization existed as a political organization prior to the presidential election, and was known as the Breckinridge and Lane Club. Near the close of the canvass, as is frequently the case with all political organizations, they found themselves involved in debt. They assembled in private meeting for the purpose of determining upon some financial scheme to extricate themselves from that debt; and their transactions, which they supposed to be under the seal of privacy, were published in the "Star," of this city, which made them exceedingly indignant; and when this "National Volunteer" organization met here recently, finding the reporter of the "Star," or the person connected with that paper, present, they concluded, for the purpose of excluding him, to make their meeting secret. But at their next meeting they invited, by name, the reporters of the papers in the city to be present, and report the proceedings of the meeting.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Including or excluding the "Star?"

Answer. Excluding the "Star." That I understood to be the fact.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. You think that is the origin of these rumors?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Can you mention, in that connexion, the names of any prominent citizens connected with that association—the names of any who are known to the public?

Answer. Yes, sir. I will take, for instance, Mr. Charles H. Winder, a gentleman of acknowledged character and standing and high social position. And there is the son-in-law of Governor Wise, who, like his father-in-law, is a gentleman of very decided character and standing.

Question. You refer to Dr. Garnett?

Answer. Yes, sir ; and there is Dr. Boyle, a son of one of the oldest and most respectable men of this city.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. A property-holder here?

Answer. Yes, sir ; a large property-holder. Mr. William H. Thomas, also a very respectable, intelligent man, and a man of property. That association represents a very considerable amount of property—probably \$100,000. It is utterly impossible, I think, that any such state of things as has been represented in the papers should exist here without my knowing something about it. But any information which I can give the committee, or any facilities which I can afford them with a view to acquire information, will be most cheerfully given.

Question. The towns and country are full of rumors about a secret organization called the “K. G. C.,” or the “Knights of the Golden Circle,” or something of that kind ; have you any information of, or do you believe that any such organization ever existed here?

Answer. That was an old concern that started in connexion with Cuba, or something of that kind. I have never heard of any such organization here.

Question. Nor of any citizens belonging to any such organization?

Answer. No, sir ; I saw in a paper the other day—the “Star,” I think—the name of L. Q. Washington associated with some such organization as that, mentioning, in connexion with it, that he was very high up in the order—some grand title, “G. W. T.,” or something of the kind. I do not know what it meant ; but I regarded it as a mere piece of facetiousness on the part of the editor. I certainly never heard that there was a meeting here. I do not think there ever was.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. Of how many men does the police force of the city consist?

Answer. One hundred.

Question. Have there been any additions to it lately?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you, from personal examination, ascertained of those who constitute the police force their sentiments latterly towards the government?

Answer. I have not inquired of them individually ; but I regard them as perfectly loyal—as perfectly within my command. If they were not so, they could not belong to the force.

Question. Do you know their sentiments touching their duty, provided there should be a secession of Maryland and Virginia?

Answer. I never inquired with any such view as that, because I regarded that as not within the range of probability at all.

Question. That either State should secede?

Answer. If either or both of them should secede, I think I should command the hearty efforts of every citizen here to preserve order.

Question. I wanted to know if, in view of any such contingency, you have made any such inquiries of the police?

Answer. No, sir ; I have not.

Question. Either of the captains or the subordinates?

Answer. No, sir; I have not.

Question. Do you know of how many men the police force in charge of the Capitol consists?

Answer. Only from what I read in the papers.

Question. They are independent of you?

Answer. Yes, sir; I think the chief of police told me yesterday they numbered twenty-nine men.

Question. Your chief, or the other?

Answer. The chief of the Capitol police.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Captain Dunnington?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. You have a chief of the police?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What is his name?

Answer. John H. Goddard.

Question. Is he a native of this city?

Answer. No, sir; he is a native of Rhode Island, and as good a man as ever lived.

Question. Do you think the resolution which was published in the papers here as having been adopted by the "National Volunteers," respecting what they should deem to be their duty in the case a certain contingency arose, expressed the views of that organization?—I mean the one which, in substance, stated that if Maryland and Virginia should secede they should go with them—that their allegiance would be with them.

Answer. I doubt whether the resolution was well considered; I do not think it could have been, or they would not have adopted it.

Question. Was it adopted by the company?

Answer. I understand it was.

Question. Do you know who offered it?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Do you know whether it was adopted with unanimity?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Or whether it was adopted after discussion?

Answer. No, sir; I do not.

Question. Have you heard of any attempt to rescind it?

Answer. I have not; I have heard that talked of.

Question. Do you suppose it stands now as the record of the company?

Answer. I should think it did. I read the resolution hastily; I never re-read it. And I never did get a very distinct knowledge of the purposes of the association from the resolution. But what I understood from some of the gentlemen with whom I talked was this: their idea was, that if the southern States should go out, and if a southern confederacy should be formed, and if a formal attempt should

be made upon the part of one section to war against the other section, then in that case they of course would be in line with their section.

Question. Do you know who is the commander of that organization?

Answer. I think they have no commander.

Question. Have they any officers?

Answer. I think not.

Question. What position does Dr. Garnett hold in it?

Answer. I think he is a private in the ranks, so I understand.

Question. Do they parade?

Answer. I think not. They are drilling, and I think the other night they did walk down the streets in pairs; so I understood.

Question. Under whose superintendence are they drilling?

Answer. They have men in their numbers who served in the Mexican war, and who are military men.

Question. Do you know who they are?

Answer. I understood that a gentleman by the name of William B. Maxwell was one.

Question. What position did he hold in the Mexican war?

Answer. I think he belonged to the Virginia regiment.

Question. Do you know any other military men there?

Answer. No, sir; I do not.

Question. Does any personal interview with them, or personal knowledge of your own, besides your inferences from the character of the gentlemen, lead you to suppose that they are entirely loyal to the Union?

Answer. I am satisfied, from my knowledge of the character of the gentlemen who belong to that association, and from personal contact with many of them, that they are entirely loyal.

Question. Have you latterly had any personal intercourse with any of them?

Answer. It was only on Sunday last that I had a very long conversation with a very respectable gentleman, a member of that organization, from whom I got a history of the organization, and who, I have no doubt, will, with great pleasure, give it to your committee in detail.

Question. What did you learn from this interview, or otherwise, were their real sentiments touching their duty to the Union, in case of force being resorted to?

Answer. I learned this: that they were prepared and ready to afford me their aid, in any manner that I might see fit to command it, to maintain the public peace of this city.

Question. Are they considered as under the control of the military arm, as a part of the military force?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. They are independent, are they?

Answer. Yes, sir; they are perfectly independent.

Question. Did you learn from them that they were willing to await orders from General Scott?

Answer. I did not. I did not understand from them that they had reached that point. They had not even elected an officer, or been

furnished with arms. They do not belong to the military organization of the district at all.

Question. Have they no arms?

Answer. I think not.

Question. How do they drill?

Answer. In squads, I suppose, as they usually do.

Question. Do not companies when they drill have arms?

Answer. Oh! no.

Question. Have they an armory?

Answer. I think not.

Question. Where is there place of meeting?

Answer. I have understood it to be in Harmony Hall. It is so advertised in the papers.

Question. Of how many does this organization of General Carrington consist?

Answer. That I do not know.

Question. Rather an antagonistic political organization, you think, to the other?

Answer. It is a political organization, I think.

Question. And rather antagonistic to the other?

Answer. They are antagonistic to each other in politics.

Question. Was the National Volunteers' association organized after the other?

Answer. The National Volunteers were organized before the presidential election.

Question. And this of Mr. Carrington's has been organized within a few weeks?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Is there entire good feeling between the two organizations?

Answer. Personally, I should think there was.

Question. What pains have you taken to ascertain whether there really existed any secret organization here not to be known by ordinary means?

Answer. Well, I have taken pains to avail myself of various sources of information—in conference with friends, and also those upon whom I had no particular claims as such, but who, like myself, have a great interest in the welfare of the city.

Question. Have you detailed any portion of the police for that duty?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you employed any individual to investigate that matter?

Answer. No individual for compensation or reward. I have talked with the marshal of the police of Baltimore, and conferred with persons passing to and from the south. I have had no regular system, because, it is proper for me to say, I have never myself attached any consequence to this matter at all.

Question. You never did investigate with any idea that you would find out anything of the kind?

Answer. No, sir; I never did. And all the investigations I have ever made have only confirmed me in that conviction.

Question. Have you conferred with General Scott upon the subject?

Answer. I have.

Question. How lately?

Answer. Within two or three weeks. I asked General Scott if he could point me to any fact which warranted any such conclusion.

Question. Have you co-operated with him in this matter?

Answer. General Scott has not made me his confidant. He told me he had no facts.

Question. Up to what date was that?

Answer. Two weeks ago, perhaps.

Question. Has he called upon you, or you upon him, since?

Answer. I called upon him about two weeks since, at the request of Captain Stone.

Question. At the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan, in 1856, what additional police force did you have?

Answer. I was not mayor at that time. I think the whole of the extra police force numbered 100. Their regular police force at that time did not exceed 60, I think.

Question. At the time of the inauguration of the Washington statue you added, temporarily, 200 to the police force.

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Was that in anticipation of any particular disturbance?

Answer. Not at all: it was only for the purpose of protecting the pageant from the crowd. It was done at the request of the joint committee of Congress.

Question. There was no anticipated trouble at all on that occasion?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Everything was in perfectly good temper?

Answer. Yes, sir; as I think it is now.

Question. You think that is true of the present state of things?

Answer. I do, most unquestionably. I shall be most egregiously disappointed if it proves to be different.

Question. You do not apprehend any trouble from broils in drinking saloons, and such as that?

Answer. That would likely occur in such a city as this at such a time. It occurred when Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated. I suppose 15 or 20 pistol shots were harmlessly fired at the National Hotel, even among men of the same political party.

Question. Have you made any efforts to ascertain whether, outside of the District, in the neighborhood, there does not exist companies daily drilling?

Answer. I have inquired of gentlemen in Maryland, some of whom belong to this military organization, and I know distinctly from them—and I know they are incapable of misrepresenting anything—that their organization has exclusive reference to their own protection.

Question. Will you give me the names of some of these gentlemen?

Answer. William Bowie—I think his name is William—of Prince George's county, is one. He is a son of Colonel William D. Bowie. I think it was only a night or two ago that I spoke to him about it.

He told me they had organized a troop of horse there for their own personal safety.

Question. Did you ascertain from him when it was organized?

Answer. Yes, sir; very recently, I think.

Question. Of how many does it consist?

Answer. I did not inquire.

Question. Did you ascertain who was in command of it?

Answer. No, sir; I did not.

Question. Any other gentleman that you could name?

Answer. No, sir; I do not remember any other at this moment. I am sure I have talked with others, though I know the character of the gentlemen there so well that I should be restrained from seeming to interrogate them, because they are too high, in every sense of the word, to be engaged in any enterprise that is not eminently lawful.

Question. Do you think they occupy a higher position than Governor Wise?

Answer. In a social point of view they do not.

Question. Have you more confidence in Governor Wise's son-in-law, and in his loyalty, than you have in that of Governor Wise himself?

Answer. I have perfect confidence in the loyalty of each of them. I have not the slightest idea that either of them would put himself at the head of any organization for any unlawful purpose.

Question. You have no idea that either of them ever contemplated seizing the Capitol by force?

Answer. No, sir; I have not the slightest.

Question. Have you taken any special measures to ascertain whether that was so in reference to Governor Wise?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you taken any measures to ascertain whether there existed any organization under Governor Wise's own command; and if so, how extensive it was?

Answer. I have inquired, and looked into the newspapers; but I never attached any consequence myself to any idea of any foray upon Washington. I regarded that as a mere political movement at the time; as a sort of set-off to the Wide-awakes.

Question. What do you suppose was the end contemplated by the organization?

Answer. I supposed it was a mere political organization, that would cease to exist when the presidential canvass terminated.

Question. Do you think it has now ceased to exist?

Answer. I do.

Question. Have you taken any steps to ascertain that fact?

Answer. No, sir, I have not; because I really attached no consequence to it in view of our peculiar relations to this question.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. What is your understanding of the object of the "Minute Men?" That that organization was for the purpose of making an attack upon the city of Washington, or solely to defend themselves and their States from an attack by the government?

Answer. I certainly supposed the organization contemplated operations within their own State.

Mr. BRANCH read the following extract from the Washington correspondence of the New York *Herald*, published January 28, 1861:

"The most intense excitement exists in certain congressional circles in consequence of the fact leaking out that the Howard select committee of the House have positive evidence before them of a conspiracy existing in this city and vicinity to overthrow the government, in which certain prominent officials and citizens in Washington and elsewhere figure. Decisive action will be taken in relation to the matter, and every man, from ex-cabinet officers down to the humblest department clerk or Senate employé, will be held to the strictest account. In this emergency it is gratifying to know that, while there may be many citizens in Maryland who, when they can honorably do it, if they cannot consistently remain in the Union, will go out, have determined that while they do remain in it they will be loyal citizens, and when they go out will not do so dishonorably.

"The existence of the conspiracy has been known to certain officials in Washington for some time."

The CHAIRMAN stated to the witness that he was the first one who had been examined in reference to this subject.

After some conversation the examination was proceeded with.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Now as to these National Volunteers; when were they organized?

Answer. I think just prior to the presidential election.

Question. Does that organization extend north of Washington? Have you heard of its existence in any of the northern cities?

Answer. In Baltimore there is an organization called the National Volunteers.

Question. Did you, previous to the election, hear of a similar organization in New York, or elsewhere in the north?

Answer. I think I did. I think they were gotten up in opposition to the Wide-awake organization. That was my understanding of it at the time.

Question. Did you ever hear of any branch of that organization south of the city of Washington?

Answer. I never did.

Question. Is it confined to the city of Washington and to the north?

Answer. I think so; so far as my knowledge extends. In speaking of the National Volunteers, it is proper for me to say that while originally they numbered upwards of 300 members, I have the most reliable information that their numbers now do not exceed 45.

By Mr. COCHRANE:

Question. In this city?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Has there ever been in this city any Wide-awake organization?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Did the Wide-awakes here drill?

Answer. That I do not know.

Question. Have you ever seen or known of the Wide-awake association at the north drilling?

Answer. I have seen it stated in the public papers that they drilled.

Question. Drilled as armed men, as soldiers?

Answer. I think it likely they did. But really, so far as the Wide-awake and National Volunteer associations are concerned, I never regarded them in their palmyest days as having power to disturb the peace and quiet of this city.

Question. The National Volunteers here, you say, are only 45 now?

Answer. Yes, sir; at their last meeting. They had several meetings, I think, when they did not exceed 25 or 30.

Question. You say the Wide-awakes never drilled here?

Answer. Never, to my knowledge.

Question. Have you yourself ever seen them drill at the north?

Answer. I never have.

Question. You have understood that they did drill there?

Answer. I got that impression from the public papers.

Question. Do you know of any collection or deposit of arms in secret places in this city by or under the control of any combination of persons of any political party?

Answer. I do not.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. Have you taken any measures to ascertain that fact?

Answer. I have taken no measures specifically to ascertain that fact?

Question. Will you tell me in what particular part of the north you ever heard of the Wide-awake organization going through the military drill?

Answer. Well, I got my impression from the public papers; I think it applied to all northern cities.

By Mr. COCHRANE:

Question. Have you at any time received notices, anonymous or otherwise, of the existence of any conspiracy or organization for the disturbance of the peace of this District?

Answer. No, sir; I think not.

Question. Have you heard of any anonymous communications of that character being sent to individuals?

Answer. I think not; I may have heard it, however; I have so frequently received anonymous communications, threatening myself and the President and other people, that I never attach any consequence to anonymous communications.

Question. You have heard of none of any character bearing upon this subject?

Answer. I have heard of none ; I have seen nothing of the kind ; I do not believe in the existence of anything which has for its object the disturbance of the peace and quiet of the city of Washington on the 4th of March next.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Or before the 4th of March ?

Answer. Either before or after the 4th of March.

By Mr. COCHRANE :

Question. If, in the present state of feeling in the District, you should hear of anonymous communications to respectable females, helpless persons, warning them to be absent on or about the 4th of March, would you deem the matter of sufficient consequence to investigate it ?

Answer. I hear it now for the first time. There was a notice going the rounds of the press that Governor Wise advised his family—I suppose it referred to Dr. Garnett—to be out of the city before the 4th of March ; that was all I heard.

Question. I have no special reference to anything, but simply to ask whether, in the present state of feeling in the District, such knowledge brought to your attention would justify you, in your judgment, to inquire concerning it ?

Answer. I think I should be inclined, from any plausible representations brought to my notice bearing upon this question, to look into it. But it has not been brought to my attention. I have talked with leading southern men from various States, and in my conversation with them I find nothing that justifies the conclusion that there is to be any disturbance ; on the contrary, without a solitary dissenting voice, they repudiate and repel the idea that the south would tolerate any such thing in any of her citizens.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. Would you expect a man who was engaged in any such attempt as that to own it to you ?

Answer. No, sir, I would not ; but I would expect that any such organization as that would certainly come to my knowledge in some form or other.

Question. You would expect to find it out from some other source ?

Answer. The truth is, I do not see, I am free to admit, how such an organization could exist twenty-four hours without its being known. It would involve the necessity of the moving of a large number of men and the accumulation of arms, and all that sort of thing. A mob could be gotten up very suddenly, there is no question about that.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. You speak of having seen rumors in the papers in regard to disturbing the peace here. Have you ever seen any of those rumors in southern papers, or are they all confined to northern papers ?

Answer. I think they are confined pretty much to the leading papers in the north.

Question. Would you think it very strange, when letters in the Herald of the description I have read here were written here from this city, entirely unfounded, that timid females should be alarmed and desirous of getting outside of the city before the 4th of March?

Answer. No, sir, I should not; but according to my experience some timid men get more alarmed than timid women; I have not seen any women who were alarmed, but I have seen some men who were.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. Would you expect, if such an organization in a community existed to any extent, to find a warning in the public press of the locality where it existed, and which would be likely to be infected with the same spirit that would prompt the getting up an organization of that kind?

Answer. The fact of it is, I should not look to the public press at all for accurate information upon that subject.

Question. But least of all to the public press of the vicinity?

Answer. We do not get that information from abroad. I have mingled with ladies here, and have not yet found the first lady who has expressed to me the slightest concern. But I am constantly met by men about it every day. No, sir; I have not seen the moment when my apprehensions have been aroused by this matter. I cannot see the reason for it, in the first place; I see no preparation for it.

Question. Do you know of any measures adopted by those who have charge of the peace of the city to prevent any disturbance here?

Answer. I know that gentlemen from the north and the south have taken some pains to express the opinion that people should come here in their individual capacity, and not in organized bodies. I think the advice good, and very commendable to persons of either section. I think there will be, comparatively speaking, very few people here on the 4th of March, from the north or south.

By Mr. COCHRANE:

Question. How large is the military force of this District?

Answer. I do not know. I have been told that there are enrolled about 2,500 men.

Question. What is the present effective force, the volunteer force?

Answer. I suppose they might number 300 or 400 men.

Question. Are you aware of there being other disciplined forces in the District?

Answer. Yes, sir; there are several companies in Georgetown, I think. There are companies now being organized. I understand that it is expected that the volunteer militia, under the present system of enrolment, will number 2,500.

Question. Armed?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Do you mean uniformed companies?

Answer. No, sir; all together.

By Mr. COCHRANE :

Question. Armed, but without opportunity to drill, I suppose?

Answer. They are drilling now, I think, all over the city, under the general superintendence of the inspector general, Colonel Stone.

Question. Are you aware of any other force than this?

Answer. I understand that there are some federal troops. I believe General Scott, and the President also, told me that they intended to bring them here.

Question. You think, from your knowledge of events and facts here, that there are active military preparations made to meet any possible insurrection, melee, or insubordination?

Answer. Oh, yes; there is no question about that. The federal government, it seems, are taking very active measures to bring here as large a body of troops as they can conveniently command at this point. They mean to organize the militia with a view to avail themselves of their services if occasion should require. The present indications are, I think, that you will inaugurate Mr. Lincoln in a peaceable city, and in the midst of a peaceable assemblage of office-seekers and office-holders, and various other people. I should feel it to be my duty, if I discovered any plan that looked to a disturbance of the public peace, to serve notices upon the men engaged in it.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Have those companies of the federal troops been brought here in accordance with your request?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Did General Scott state to you that there was any fact to warrant his bringing them here?

Answer. No, sir. Yet so much had been said that he was induced to bring them here. I talked with the President previously, and he expressed his determination to bring them here, and he asked me what I thought of it. I said I thought it very well to have the public property properly cared for; that the arsenal was in a very unprotected condition, with a large quantity of arms there; and that it might be, and undoubtedly would be, well and prudent and proper, at all times, for the government to protect its property with as much care as an individual would protect his.

JAMES G. BERRET.

No. 6.

TUESDAY, *January 29*, 1861.

JOHN B. BLAKE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Do you reside in Washington?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Are you the Superintendent of Public Buildings here?

Answer. Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds is the term.

Question. As such, do you have the control and charge of the Capitol police?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What is the extent of that force at the present time?

Answer. The regular force is 14 men, including the captain, 13 besides the captain. But I was authorized by the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House to increase it temporarily, until the 15th of March next, by appointing 14 additional men, that is, doubling the force.

Question. That is, making 28 in all?

Answer. Yes, sir; or 29 in all, as I come in as the head of the police.

Question. You count yourself in?

Answer. Yes, sir, when there is any difficulty.

Question. And 14 men have been appointed recently?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. From all that you know, do you anticipate that there is any extraordinary danger to the Capitol and the public property here; any designs upon it from any quarter?

Answer. I do not apprehend the least danger at all. I have never seen any reason for apprehension more than the general clamor upon the subject.

Question. You know of no facts that lead you to believe there is any cause for apprehension?

Answer. I do not. I think myself it all originated from some remark made by Governor Wise during the canvass. I have never seen any reason to give credence to the apprehension. I have talked freely with the President and other officers of the government, and they have interrogated me freely upon my opinion in reference to it. I told them I could see no real grounds to apprehend danger.

Question. Have you any knowledge of any secret organization here, civil, military, or otherwise, that has for its object any attack in any shape upon the public property here?

Answer. No, sir; none whatever.

Question. Or to disturb the peace?

Answer. None whatever.

Question. Have you ever taken any pains to ascertain whether there was or not?

Answer. I have never done anything more than to inquire among my men if they saw or heard any cause of danger. I have talked with them freely upon the subject, and told them that if they saw any suspicious movement, or heard of anything that would give rise to any suspicion of any design upon the buildings or the peace of the city, they must communicate the fact to me. But I have never been able to elicit anything from them. And I will say in regard to this organization of National Volunteers, I know nothing whatever about them, except that one of the men who was under my charge said that he had been a member of it, but that that was before the election,

and then it was for no improper purpose whatever. He was one of the police recently appointed. Another of my men—not, however, one of the police—who has been in my service five years and a half, said that he was a member of it. I interrogated him yesterday very strictly upon the subject. He said it did not contemplate any unlawful object whatever. He told me, moreover, that it had originated pretty much because of the Wide-awake movement; that the Wide-awakes had made a great parade, and of course our men thought they must make a show too, and they formed the National Volunteers as a sort of offset to the Wide-awakes.

Question. An electioneering machine?

Answer. Yes, sir. I always understood that to be the object. I never was at any meeting of them, and never knew anything about them; I never inquired particularly about them. I would hear people say, "There go the National Volunteers," when the democrats were making a parade. The first time I saw them was when I was standing by the Capitol here, and saw them going to the depot, and was told they were going to some meeting in Baltimore. They had no uniform on, except caps of a peculiar kind. They said they were going to Baltimore for a great parade—a lamp-light procession that night.

Question. At what time was that?

Answer. That was the latter part of October.

Question. Before the election?

Answer. Yes, sir. I do not think that, except on the night of the election, there has been any demonstration by them here at all. I never saw them at any other time. That night a parcel of fellows—I understood they were some of these—went down below where I live. I heard a noise, and got up and raised my window and looked out, and saw some police running. I had intended to have gone down, but as soon as they heard that the police were coming, they left.

Question. You allude to the mob that attacked the printing office of Buell & Blanchard?

Answer. Yes, sir; I heard the noise, and got up and looked out, and saw that there was a row down there.

Question. That was immediately after the election?

Answer. That was on the night of the election.

Question. In consequence of the high state of excitement here?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you ever heard any rumors about there being powder deposited in the Capitol here?

Answer. Yes, sir, I have heard those rumors.

Question. I suppose you traced out their falsity?

Answer. Certainly. There was nothing of the kind. A great many persons have asked me about it, and we have been very particular in examining.

Question. You did examine in consequence of these rumors, although you did not believe in them?

Answer. Yes, sir; we have examinations made every night. The first thing we do after closing the building at night is to go all through it, up and down—all through the cellar and every place, and

look closely. And I have told my men to be particularly careful under existing circumstances. I was afraid that somebody, without intending to blow up the Capitol, but merely to create an excitement, might bring in a keg of powder and deposit it there; for I thought nobody would be such a fool as to bring in a keg of powder and explode it himself.

Question. Unless they had a pretty long fuse?

Answer. Yes, sir. I have given the men rigid instructions; I have put them at all the main doors in the daytime, so that they may know what comes in and what goes out. At night, after the post office is closed, which is sometimes pretty late, they are required to take down the name and hour when anybody comes in, and the hour when he goes out. I have this done so that, in the event of any difficulty arising in the Capitol, I can tell who were in the Capitol, in order to get some explanation from them, if possible.

Question. Can you give us a list of these fourteen men who have been recently appointed?

Answer. I can furnish you with a list of them. I have not the list here.

Question. Do you know them all personally?

Answer. I know the most of them personally, and they are all men of good character, except one man, in whom I have every confidence. His mother keeps the Washington House, on the avenue. His name is Ben. Beveridge. He has been raised in this town. I have known him from his boyhood; and nobody could ever say anything against Ben, except as to his fighting propensities. He was always a terrible fellow for fighting. Some three or four years ago, when know-nothingism first made its appearance here, there were a parcel of men in the Northern Liberties who got up some kind of association that they called the Plug-Uglies, and Ben organized an association to meet them. They were very much opposed to each other, and were a great nuisance to the community. Ben was at the head of the "States Hose" party; it was a party of democrats. Both parties were a very great nuisance to the people of this city, and strangers were very much annoyed by them, too, and Ben got a very bad reputation from that circumstance. But he is a married man, and has been trying to get along; he is a sober man, and has no bad habits, except that he likes to get into a broil. The other day I was coming up to the Capitol—I think it was three or four days before the Speaker and the Vice-President said anything to me upon the subject—I met Ben, and he said to me, "So you are going to have some additional police at the Capitol." I said, "No, I guess not; I have not heard anything about it." He said, "Yes, it is so; I have heard it from the members in our house; they don't think there is police enough to protect the buildings." I said, "I know nothing about it." Said he, "If you increase the force, will you give me a place?" I said, "I never make promises, but I will give you a place upon one condition. You know your reputation here in connexion with the States Hose." He said, "Yes, but I have been trying to behave myself since, and nobody can say anything against me for the last two years." I knew that, and I told him I would give him a place if he behaved himself,

and I did so. I have entire confidence in him myself, and I do not know anybody that would be more entirely subject to my control.

Question. Is there a man amongst them by the name of "Lum Cooper?"

Answer. No, sir, not among them. I know the man you mean. He is not a policeman, but he is the man I referred to who said that he belonged to the National Volunteers. He is a lamp-lighter. I appointed him five and a half years ago. I appointed him at the instance of Mr. John C. Rives; he is a great pet of Mr. Rives.

Question. Then he does not belong to the police at all?

Answer. No, sir

Question. What is his real name?

Answer. His real name is Columbus Edelin, I think. His mother married a man by the name of Cooper, who brought him up, and so he took the name of Cooper from his step-father, and he is called Lum Cooper.

Question. Have you heard any intimations that he was decidedly disloyal to the government?

Answer. No, sir; I will tell you what I saw. A gentleman on Sunday brought to my attention the New York Times, in which there was an article in which Cooper's name was mentioned. I sent for him, and had a conversation with him upon this subject. The article referred to some flag on his house, and about his cutting the stars out and putting in the palmetto or something of the kind. I asked him about it, and inquired of him generally his views about matters. He said the flag was not in his yard, and wanted me to get in my buggy and go down there and see it. He said the flag was in the yard of his neighbor, who was a republican, and that it had only eighteen stars in it; and he presumed the reason was that it was a flag that he bought out of a store, and they just stick in as many stars as they can get in without any reference to the number of States.

Question. Just fill up the spare room with stars, be it more or less?

Answer. Yes, sir. He says that he has had no flag there since Mr. Buchanan was elected.

Question. You then regard this imputation upon his loyalty as all false from what you know?

Answer. So far as the flag is concerned, I will just tell you what he said to me. I had heard that he had said he would shoot Mr. Lincoln if nobody else would do it. I interrogated him upon that point, and he said no man would dare to face him and bring such an accusation against him. He asked who it was that told me, but I declined to tell him, because I did not feel at liberty to do so. It was one of the officers of the House who mentioned it to me. He denied it. He said he belonged to the National Volunteers, but they did not contemplate any attack upon the city of Washington. He said the organization was kept together more for the purpose, if the Wide-awakes came on here—to use his expression—"to cut up any shiners," they would be ready to meet them. That was the object, he said.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. As I understand you, there was a flag in the yard adjoining Cooper's that had but eighteen stars in it, and he attacked the flag and cut the stars out because it was not a national flag?

Answer. No, sir; he had nothing at all to do with it. He said the flag belonged to his neighbor. He said, moreover, that his neighbor there had a meeting almost every night, and that they had arms in the house. But he said he did not know for what purpose.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Who is this neighbor?

Answer. I do not know; I did not inquire.

By Mr. COCHRANE:

Question. When was this conversation?

Answer. It was on yesterday. I will see this man again who told me about Mr. Cooper. This Cooper is a very talkative fellow, and I have often checked him about his talk. He is a man that has a great deal to say, and very little judgment, and often utters things without any foundation, I should think. He is very extravagant in his talk, though he is a little man; but he is a big bragger. I do not think he had anything to do with that flag. I believe he intends to libel the author of that letter if he can.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. How many of these twenty-eight policemen are members of the National Volunteers?

Answer. Well, sir, I do not know that any of them are, except this man Ben Beveridge; he joined them originally, but he has not been with them since the election; so he assured me; I inquired of him particularly about that.

Question. Did you inquire anything about this resolution adopted by the National Volunteers, that in case of secession, if their services were desired, they would be against the Union?

Answer. No, sir; I did not. The fact is, it did not make the slightest impression whatever upon my mind.

Question. Have you ever made personal inquiry as to the loyalty of each one of these twenty-eight police?

Answer. Yes, sir; I am prosecuting that inquiry, especially since the matter was brought to my attention by the paper that was shown to me, which stated that I had appointed persons disloyal to the government. They are not all at the Capitol at the same time, but so far as I have made the investigation it is entirely satisfactory to me. Every man pledges himself to sustain the government of the United States and to protect the buildings here at the hazard of his life. They are a strong set of men, a bold set of men, and I think they would make a pretty good show if anybody were to come to drive them out.

Question. You have the appointing power?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And can remove them at any moment?

Answer. Yes, sir; without the interference of anybody.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. You consider yourself entirely responsible for these police?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you, in your inquiries and investigations since this was called to your attention, had occasion to inquire about a man of the name of McConnell?

Answer. No, sir; McConnell was not on duty yesterday, I think. Is there anything about him?

Question. I think that his name was mentioned to me, but nothing very definite, except that the remark was made that he was a most violent secessionist; but whether they meant to imply by that that it was a mere matter of opinion, or that he would turn against the government, I do not know, but the drift was that he was a strong secessionist.

Answer. This man McConnell used to be about the House of Representatives, as doorkeeper or something of that kind. He has often applied to me for a place, but I had no opportunity to give it to him. I thought he was a very proper sort of man, who always deported himself well. He has acted from time to time as substitute for some of the men, as they had occasion to go away from Washington, or when some one of them was sick. Any man who wants to leave must provide a substitute who is satisfactory. He has acted as substitute on several occasions, and I thought from that circumstance that he was a very trustworthy man; but I never made any particular inquiries as to his politics.

Question. We do not care what his politics may be. The simple question is whether he is a man that could be trusted to do his duty?

Answer. I will make particular inquiry about that. I did not have the slightest suspicion about him at all. I would be much obliged to any of you, gentlemen, if you would inform me of any names about whom anything is said, for it is necessary for me to know everything about my men.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. Do you know their views about this question of secession?

Answer. I do about most of them; but I intend to inform myself in regard to them. I do not think there is a secessionist among these new men.

By Mr. COCHRANE:

Question. With reference to what qualities did you select your men?

Answer. They are sober men, many of them mechanics about town that I knew, industrious men, men who deported themselves well, men of proper age—about middle age—that is, those who were appointed upon my own knowledge; there was one here appointed at the request of a senator; he is a man about 40 years of age.

Question. Did you know the persons when you appointed them?

Answer. I do now.

Question. Did you then?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. How many did you know then?

Answer. I think all but two or three men.

Question. And all you knew personally were men of reputable standing and reliable character?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And so far as present difficulties were concerned, in reference to which they were appointed, they were loyal?

Answer. Yes, sir; I believe they are perfectly loyal. I commenced catechising them individually yesterday.

Question. In reference to those whom you did not know personally, what recommendations did you receive?

Answer. I just took what we all have to take here—I considered the recommendations of members of Congress as sufficient.

Question. You relied on that?

Answer. Yes, sir; but I did not want to appoint any man whom I did not know.

Question. In reference to their opinions and inclinations, did you take any other course to discover them than by application to the men themselves?

Answer. I talked to the men themselves. I know they are men who will not deceive me. I told them that if they found out that any of them were unfriendly to the government to let me know it.

Question. Then you did take another course than applications to the men themselves?

Answer. Certainly; but I interrogated the men themselves.

Question. From the inquiries that you have made, have you any suspicion of their loyalty?

Answer. Not a single individual, or of the whole of them, either old or young. I intend to interrogate the whole of them.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

Question. How many of these men did you appoint on recommendation of members of Congress?

Answer. If I had the list here I could tell exactly. I do not suppose I have appointed more than three or four persons upon recommendations of members of Congress; I asked the Speaker and the Vice-President to designate one each, and they did so and I appointed them.

Question. How many did you appoint upon the recommendations of members of Congress?

Answer. I think three or four.

Question. And nine of them you appointed from your own knowledge?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Are all that you appointed residents of this city?

Answer. Yes, sir; with the exception of two.

Question. What is the peculiar knowledge of members of Congress, who do not live here themselves, as to these men?

Answer. Well, they seem to take a peculiar interest in such matters. I cannot tell what peculiar knowledge they have.

Question. What members of Congress were they upon whose recommendations you made these appointments?

[Mr. BRANCH objected to the question.]

The WITNESS. I have not made any appointment upon recommendations of members of Congress south of the Potomac river.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose the question is proper in this point of view, at least; the object is to find out what the real character of the men is, or any particular man is, and if any one was appointed upon the recommendation of a particular person, it may be followed up by inquiring of that person what his means of knowledge are. As a matter of inquiry I think it is competent. In any other point of view it might be objected to as irrelevant.

The WITNESS. I have no objection myself, but I do not know how those gentlemen would like it, though I do not suppose they would object. It is merely out of delicacy that I object to mentioning names. However, they cannot object to it if the committee require an answer. Senator Thompson, of New Jersey, was one who spoke to me about Mr. Foster; and Mr. Kunkel, of Maryland, spoke to me. And then one was appointed upon the suggestion of the Speaker and one by the Vice-President, and now, I come to think of it, I believe that makes up the whole of them—only four in all.

By Mr. REYNOLDS :

Question. How many did you appoint upon the recommendation of Mr. Thompson?

Answer. But one.

Question. How many upon the recommendation of Mr. Kunkel?

Answer. Only one.

Question. Then you appointed but two in that way?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Will you state whether Policeman Wilson has been stationed in the day time on the dome or cupola?

Answer. Yes, sir; to look after fires. The captain of the police, Captain Dunnington, told me, as I was talking to him upon this subject, and inquiring what disposition he proposed to make of the police, that Mr. Wilson had not yet reported himself, but that when he should, he would put him up in the cupola, or top of the cupola, where they are using more or less fire every day. He always had a watchman to go up there at night to see the fires put out. And he said that when Mr. Kunkel's man reported himself he would put him up there.

Question. Put two of them up there?

Answer. Yes, sir; that is, to alternate—to relieve each other. And he told me, after Wilson had reported himself, that he was a very nice man, and that he liked him very much. He put him on duty up there because he was the last man that reported himself, and the other men had all been disposed of.

Question. The other men were all occupied somewhere else?

Answer. Yes, sir. I will take occasion to speak of Captain Dunnington in this connexion. I have the most unbounded confidence

in Captain Dunnington; I believe him to be as honorable and pure a man as lives. My intercourse with him has impressed me with the most exalted estimate of his character. I have talked very freely with him—very freely upon this subject. He believes in the legal right of the State to secede. But he does not approve the course of South Carolina and the other States in seceding. But he has told me repeatedly, that whenever he found that he could not discharge his duty faithfully, to preserve order in the Capitol and protect the public property, he would resign his position; that if Virginia should leave the Union he should go home with his family. He has a farm and some negroes in Virginia, and he would cast his destiny with that of his State. That is his feeling upon the subject.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. Did he intimate at what particular stage of the proceedings he would resign?

Answer. No, sir; he never stated to me.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Have you any reason to think that Captain Dunnington placed the policeman, Mr. Wilson, who was appointed on the recommendation of Mr. Pennington, in that place in order that there might be an opportunity to put gunpowder under the Capitol without his knowing it.

Answer. No, sir. My own impression is that he put him there, as he stated to me, because he was the last one who reported himself.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. Have you any idea that anybody contemplating putting powder under the capitol would inform you of the arrangements made in order to do it successfully?

Answer. I should think that such information would be a direct imputation upon my loyalty to the government.

Question. Did this captain assure you that he would resign before this thing got so far as to be beyond any control?

Answer. He said he did not know whether Virginia would go out of the Union or not. But he said that if she did go out, he should go with her. He has talked with a number of gentlemen of the House on the republican side.

Question. How many of the police of the Capitol have you reason to suppose entertain sentiments similar to those of the captain?

Answer. I do not know another one who does.

Question. Do you know whether any of them entertain opinions contrary to those expressed by the captain?

Answer. Yes, sir; I know that they all go for the Union—all those that I have spoken to, and I believe all of them do.

Question. Are there any of them that you know besides the captain that believes in the right of secession?

Answer. I do not think there is one of them that believes in it.

Question. Was there any one in charge of this cupola before this Wilson reported himself?

Answer. No, sir ; we could not spare one for that purpose, but the men on duty were directed to go up there frequently during the day to see that there was no danger from fire.

Question. Was there any reason to apprehend any assault upon the Capitol at that point ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; very great apprehensions of the worst kind. There is great danger from fire up there. They are working with iron up there, and use coal fire pretty much all the time.

By Mr. REYNOLDS :

Question. It is all iron there, is it not ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; but the coals may blow out down upon the part that will burn.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Do you not think the cupola is the most dangerous place about the Capitol ?

Answer. I should think it was. I should not like to be in it myself in the event of an attack upon the Capitol with big guns.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. Is there any arrangement made for increasing the police at the time of counting the votes for President and Vice-President ?

Answer. No, sir ; I never had the police force increased temporarily before. Heretofore the practice has been for Captain Dunnington, just at the inauguration, to select a number of men for duty on that day.

Question. There has been no conference between you and the presiding officers of Congress in reference to the occasion of counting the votes ?

Answer. No, sir ; Captain Dunnington and myself have talked about the subject. We intend to have the whole force on duty at one time.

Question. There has been no conference between you and either of the presiding officers in regard to increasing the forces, or making any particular arrangements for preserving the peace on that occasion ?

Answer. No, sir ; the Speaker said to me on one occasion that we all should be on duty on the day the votes were counted.

Question. That is the force you already have ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Captain Dunnington and all ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. You will pardon the question. You are loyal, are you ?

Answer. I am.

Question. A friend of the Union ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You do not believe in the right of secession ?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. And are a strong believer in the wrong of secession?

Answer. I suppose that would necessarily follow.

Question. You have the command of the police?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You believe they will all obey you?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And four of them were appointed upon the recommendations of the Speaker and Vice-President, and two loyal members of Congress?

Answer. I suppose they are; you know them better than I do.

Question. You attend at the President's on the occasions of receptions there, do you not?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You are also captain of this Capitol police?

Answer. Yes, sir; I am at the head of the police.

Question. So that there are, perhaps, few men in Washington who associate as much with the high and mingle as much with the low as you do, and who are in all the intermediate circles of society. Now, have you any reason to believe that there is, on the part of any persons in this District, or out of it, any design to make an attack upon this city between now and the 4th of March, or on the 4th of March?

Answer. I think I answered that question fully at the commencement of this examination. I have not the slightest apprehension of anything of the kind happening. I have talked with government officers upon the subject, with the President and others, and have expressed my opinion fully. They have never stated to me anything that was calculated to change my opinion in regard to it. I thought that inasmuch as such rumors were in circulation, it was well enough to have the troops here. I think that such a thing could not be in contemplation without my hearing something of it in some tangible shape. I have received no such intimation from high or low.

Question. Do you not think that the most of this uneasiness and this apprehension grew out of the monstrous falsehoods written from this city to northern newspapers for correspondence?

Answer. I do not know exactly how to answer that question.

Question. It is strong language, I know; and I do not ask you to adopt my language.

Answer. My impression is that there are a great many idle people here about Washington, who have no particular pursuit, and who hunt up all manner of stories and circulate them, give them to the gentlemen of the press who are here, and they are not over-particular in inquiring into the facts, but use them as they receive them. I do not charge them with originating these stories.

By Mr. COCHRANE:

Question. You spoke about information concerning arms being in the house adjoining Lum Cooper's?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you made any further inquiries about them?

Answer. No, sir; I have not. It was only yesterday that I was told about it.

Question. Do you not think it would be worth while to inquire into that, and see whether it be so or not?

Answer. I could inquire. I do not know how far my authority would extend in making any particular investigation outside of the public grounds; but I would suggest to you, gentlemen, that you better summon Captain John H. Goddard, the chief of the city police; he is all about the city, and ought to know what was going on in the city.

JOHN B. BLAKE.

No. 7.

WEDNESDAY, *January 30, 1861.*

GEORGE R. WILSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Are you one of the Capitol police?

Answer. Yes, sir; one of the extra police appointed a few days ago.

Question. When did you enter upon the discharge of your duties?

Answer. Last Wednesday.

Question. A week ago to-day?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What particular duty was assigned to you?

Answer. Well, sir, Captain Dunnington assigned to me the duty in the dome. He said that the other watches were full. He asked me if I had any objection to going there, telling me at the same time that I would have no night duty to perform and none on Sundays. It suited me very well, and I was very glad to accept it.

Question. By whom were you appointed?

Answer. My orders came from Commissioner Blake. I was appointed through Mr. Pennington, the Speaker of the House.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. On his recommendation, I suppose?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Do you know anything of your own knowledge of the existence of any secret organization here to seize the Capitol, or anything of that kind?

Answer. No, sir; I do not, and I have made some inquiries. And I think if there was such an organization in this city to any extent that I have the means of knowing it.

Question. You know of no such thing?

Answer. No, sir; I do not.

Question. Have you seen anything about the Capitol since you have been here as policeman that leads you to think that it was unsafe?

Answer. No, sir; I have not. I know of but few of the police, some two or three of them. But they have all expressed themselves properly.

Question. You have seen nothing that looked like an attempt on the part of anybody to make any assault upon the Capitol?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you heard anything?

Answer. No, sir; Mr. Blake told me yesterday that if I heard of anything that would lead to suspicion to let him know it at once, which I would certainly do. I wish to say that Commissioner Blake told me yesterday that if my place was disagreeable to me to say so, and he would give me any station about the Capitol. And the reason I desired to come before you was so that it should not be understood that I was the cause of Commissioner Blake coming before the committee. I never made any objection to the position assigned to me, because it suited me very well.

Question. What duties do you have to perform up there?

Answer. To see that there is no fire left there at night; to stay there at dinner time and see that nothing is taken away, and see that no suspicious person goes up on the dome.

Question. To see that the property there is taken care of?

Answer. Yes, sir; there are two of us over there. One is up on the cupola all the time, and the other is in the rotunda, or anywhere he is sent.

Question. Who is the other one?

Answer. His name is Donaldson. He is a stranger to me; I do not know him.

Question. When do you go on duty?

Answer. At 7 o'clock in the morning.

Question. When do you come down?

Answer. After sundown, when all the workmen have left.

Question. We did not subpoena Dr. Blake here because we knew anything against you.

Answer. He said it was intimated that I was put up there against my wishes. And it was supposed that some persons perhaps would bring powder into the Capitol when I was on duty up there, and would not see them.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Have you heard anything that would raise a suspicion in your mind that there is any design or plot on the part of anybody to blow up the Capitol?

Answer. There was a general rumor about town that the Capitol was to be blown up, and all the black republicans hung up, and so on. Indeed, I was notified the other day, but I paid no attention to it.

Question. Can you mention any one person who told you such a thing was likely to be done?

Answer. Well, sir, it was the general rumor that the Capitol would not stand. I suppose I could name persons, but they were of very little importance.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Drunken rowdies, I suppose?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Any person of any responsibility?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Do you know of any fact?

Answer. No, sir; nothing more than this military organization here in the city, who have meetings occasionally. I do not know what they are, but they are supposed to be hostile to the government.

Question. Have you any facts to lead you to suppose that such is the case?

Answer. No, sir; I have not.

Question. From your acquaintance with the rest of the Capitol police, do you think any of them would be likely to allow powder to be put under the Capitol, and not report it?

Answer. No, sir; I think not. I know but two or three of them. They are all sworn, and I think they would be false to their oaths if they did that. All that I know are strictly the reverse.

Question. They would not permit it?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. You would feel that the republicans were just as safe in the Capitol with you on the dome as if you were in the basement?

Answer. I think so. I was afraid that Commissioner Blake and Captain Dunnington would be under the impression that I circulated this report myself. I never saw Commissioner Blake in my life before yesterday. I was perfectly ignorant of any such thing.

GEO. R. WILSON.

No. 8.

WEDNESDAY, *January 30, 1861.*

JOHN M. TORMEY sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside?

Answer. In the city of Baltimore, Maryland.

Question. Are you an old resident there?

Answer. I have been residing there permanently since 1855. I am a native of Frederick county, Maryland.

Question. Are you pretty generally acquainted in Baltimore?

Answer. I believe I am.

Question. Are you the clerk of one of the courts there?

Answer. Yes, sir; that is to say, I am court clerk—chief clerk of the circuit court of Baltimore city.

Question. Are you connected with any military organization there?

Answer. I am not, sir.

Question. Do you know, of your own knowledge, whether any organization exists in this city that has for its object any attack upon the Capitol or public property here, in any contingency that may arise?

Answer. I do not.

Question. You have no knowledge upon the subject?

Answer. None whatever.

Question. Have you ever heard rumors to that effect?

Answer. I have heard rumors, but I have no personal knowledge.

Question. Have you ever heard any person say that they knew that there was such an organization?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you ever heard anybody speak of it otherwise than as a mere rumor?

Answer. I have heard persons speak of it simply as a matter of jest and pleasantry, jocularly in conversation.

Question. You never heard anybody say there was such an organization, who spoke of it as a matter of knowledge on his part?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Did you ever hear any one person assert that any other particular person belonged to such an organization?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you ever heard individuals, without any reference to such an organization, say that anything of that kind was in contemplation?

Answer. No, sir; I have heard individuals in a jocular manner say that they could raise a body of men to come over to Washington to seize the Capitol, but it was a mere matter of pleasantry. I, myself, when the forts were seized at Charleston, remarked in a jocular manner, "Suppose we go down and seize Fort McHenry."

Question. Without any intention of doing it of course?

Answer. Not at all; mere pleasantry. I know of no secret organization there at all for the purpose of attacking the federal government.

Question. Do you know of any individuals who have threatened to do it, not by means of a secret organization, but in any way?

Answer. I have heard persons, whose names I do not now remember, say in a moment of excitement that the Capitol ought to be taken.

Question. You have heard them say that apparently seriously?

Answer. Well, no, sir; I cannot say that they were serious in what they said.

Question. Have you heard much talk that on the contingency happening that Virginia and Maryland should see fit to withdraw from the confederacy, or secede, as the phrase is, some such thing should be done?

Answer. My knowledge is derived merely from my being in the office; members of the bar come in there, and I hear them say that if Virginia secedes, of course Maryland will also; that the action of the State will depend entirely upon the course Virginia may take.

Question. But you never heard any man of respectability or of any

standing or force in the community, speak of doing this thing in an unlawful way or by means of a secret organization?

Answer. So far as my recollection goes, I do not now remember any; it is of such daily occurrence in the office for parties to speak about the crisis, that I never pretend to bear in my mind all that is said. I believe this, that if an armed body of military from the north undertakes to pass through Maryland, the citizens in a body will undertake to prevent their passage, that is to say, if they undertake to come on to see the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. I have heard a great many persons, whose names I do not now remember, publicly advocate that.

Question. Do you mean to say that there is any well-settled purpose to prevent people coming on here to see Mr. Lincoln inaugurated?

Answer. No, sir; there is nothing of that kind; it is merely a sentiment—the unanimous feeling, or, I cannot say unanimous, but the sentiment of a large body of the people.

Question. That they will not let people come on here to see the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln?

Answer. That is to come through armed; if they undertake to do that, I firmly believe there will be some collision; but there is no organization that I am aware of to prevent their passage.

Question. Has it not been customary for a great many years for military companies to pass through Maryland to attend an inauguration?

Answer. I believe so.

Question. What is it so peculiar about this?

Answer. I suppose the extraordinary character of the times.

Question. More excitement now?

Answer. Yes, sir; so far as my own individual opinions are concerned, I do not know that it is proper for me to state them.

Mr. BRANCH thought it was not worth while to go into that matter.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. I asked a question to lead to some explanation of the remark you made; I asked if it had not been usual for military companies to pass through your State to attend the inauguration of Presidents heretofore, and you said it had, and then I asked what there was peculiar about this.

Answer. And I answered the question, and I intended to go on and explain.

Question. Any explanation of your answer you can make.

Answer. As we are all aware, the south is somewhat aggrieved at the present time; I believe firmly, honestly, that this matter could be reconciled and peaceably settled by compromises from the north. If they are made, Maryland will be found true and loyal to the Union. I am a Union loving man, and voted for the regular democratic nominee, Stephen A. Douglas. But if these concessions are not made, and that, too, shortly, Maryland will unfortunately be thrown with her sister southern States. I deprecate anything of the kind, but it now rests solely and simply with the north to give the south her constitutional rights.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I do not think it is worth while to take this all down.

We hear enough of this every day in the House. We can make no compromise here.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Have you any knowledge of the existence of an organization called the Knights of the Golden Cross, or the Golden Circle, the "K. G. C.," or something of the kind?

Answer. I have not, of late years.

Question. You have no personal knowledge of them?

Answer. I never knew of such an organization.

Question. You do not know where it exists, if it exists at all?

Answer. No, sir. I am afraid that information has been given to the committee by a certain class of citizens in Baltimore who undertake to sustain Governor Hicks. The people in my State emphatically condemn him. I am pretty confident that if there was such an organization I would have heard of it.

Question. You perhaps misunderstood me. I do not know that I ever heard distinctly that any such organization existed in Maryland. I do not know anything about it. The newspapers have represented, for two or three years, that there was such an organization existing in some of the States.

Answer. No, sir; I know of no such organization.

Question. You never had any knowledge that it did really exist anywhere?

Answer. No, sir; I never knew of it. I have heard rumors in Baltimore in reference to some organization here. That is to say. I have seen newspaper reports and heard persons who have seen the papers speak of it. But from personal knowledge I know nothing.

Question. Do you think that the state of feeling is such there in Maryland that it would lead to an outbreak if a military organization should see fit to pass through from the north, if there is no prospect or intention of any collision here; if they were coming on merely to the pageant? Suppose those military companies from the north, or any considerable number of them, should attempt to pass through, for the purpose of attending the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, when everything was quiet and peaceable here, and likely to be—merely coming here to make a display, as they have in years gone by, not to fight anybody—do you think the people of Maryland would have any objection?

Answer. I am not able to answer that question at present. It would depend entirely upon the minds of the people. If there should happen to be any excitement, no doubt they would prevent their passage. There might probably be two parties, one in favor of their passing through and one opposed to it. They might possibly pass through the city of Baltimore, but I doubt extremely if they could pass through the counties; for, so far as my knowledge extends, the counties are almost a unit. That is my opinion derived from information from prominent men from different sections of the State.

JOHN M. TORMEY.

No. 9.

WEDNESDAY, *January 30, 1861.*

JAMES HICKS sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside?

Answer. In Colesville, Montgomery county, Maryland.

Question. How far is that from here?

Answer. Fifteen miles by the mail route. My post office is understood to be fifteen miles from Washington.

Question. Are you pretty well acquainted in this city?

Answer. I know several families here.

Question. This Colesville you speak of is a mere country seat, I suppose?

Answer. It is the district seat—the precinct of the district.

Question. Who is the representative in Congress from that district?

Answer. Colonel Hughes.

Question. Have you ever heard anything with regard to an organization here, either secret or otherwise, that had for its object the taking of this Capitol, or any of the public buildings here?

Answer. I have not ; no, sir.

Question. Never heard of any such thing?

Answer. I have heard it merely rumored that there was such a thing. I have seen the statement in print, I believe.

Question. Have you any knowledge that such an organization does exist?

Answer. None in the world.

Question. Have you any belief that one does exist?

Answer. No, sir ; I cannot say that I believe any such thing?

Question. You never believed any of these rumors?

Answer. I cannot say that I have.

Question. Are you a prominent member of a military company?

Answer. I am a lieutenant of one.

Question. In the place where you live?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. The regular Maryland militia?

Answer. No, sir ; a volunteer company that we are just getting up. We have no arms as yet ; we have applied for them.

Question. But have not yet received them?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Do you know whether any application has been made to any officer of that company by any person or persons to employ that company to either take, or to hold after it should be taken, the city of Washington?

Answer. I can be positive on that question. There has been no such thing asked.

Question. In no shape?

Answer. No, sir. Our company is gotten up merely as a home guard ; and we want to ask the governor to allow us to stay

home, if such a thing can be done. There are several of us that are exempt under the militia act, and if they undertook to force us from home, we could very easily remain at home if we chose.

Question. It was gotten up with no sort of reference to any duty in this city, by way of seizing any of the United States property here, the Capitol, arsenal, or any of the department buildings, or holding them against the United States after they should have been seized?

Answer. With no reference to that; we are opposed entirely to coming to Washington at any time. Our ideas were that if it should become necessary, we would go with the south; that if a war should break out between the two portions of our nation, the north and the south, we should certainly side with the south.

Question. As between the two republics, you would prefer the south?

Answer. Yes, sir; decidedly.

Question. You say that no proposition was ever made to any officer of that company to take by force any United States property here or elsewhere?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Nor to enter into any service unless there should be a state of war?

Answer. No, sir. I think very few persons know anything of our company except ourselves. We have written to Governor Hicks, and also to our lieutenant colonel, for arms. I suppose they are the only persons out of our neighborhood who know it, unless they have told it to some one.

Question. You are a landed proprietor there?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And you have a substantial interest to defend?

Answer. Yes, sir; we want to stay at home. I am postmaster there, and they cannot take me away unless they abolish my office. I think I will stay at home any way. If such a thing is necessary, we will defend our rights. It you could see our constitution you would see at once what our object is. It is in favor of the Crittenden compromise. One of them was sent to our office, and we incorporated it in our constitution.

Question. Are you acquainted with any member of a company in this city called the "National Volunteers?"

Answer. I cannot say that I ever heard of the company at all.

Question. And if there is such a company, you do not know that you know any of them?

Answer. No, sir. I have heard of a company gotten up here by a Mr. Carrington.

Question. There are two or three military companies here, and he is at the head of one of them, I think. Do you know personally Ex-Governor Lowe, of Maryland?

Answer. I do not.

Question. You never saw him?

Answer. I saw him once, I think, at an agricultural fair.

Question. So far as you know, no officer of your company ever had any communication, verbal or written, from him on the subject I have mentioned?

Answer. Not that I know of; and I think if it had been the case I should certainly have known of it.

Question. When did you first start about organizing this company?

Answer. Probably four weeks ago. It was gotten up in what we call short order.

Question. And what you consider mainly for home protection?

Answer. Yes, sir; that was what we wanted. We determined to defend our rights if necessary.

Question. It had no sort of reference to any operations in this city, either present or prospective, on any contingency that might occur?

Answer. It was put to vote if we should come to Washington to parade on the 4th of March, and it was voted down. They seemed to think that there might be some disturbance down here, and we did not want to be in the midst of it.

Question. And you did not want to be the means of creating one either?

Answer. No, sir; we wanted to be at home.

Question. Are you an old resident there?

Answer. I have been living there for six years.

Question. Who are the officers of this company?

Answer. Mr. Berry is the captain.

Question. You are the lieutenant, you say?

Answer. I am the third lieutenant.

Question. Can you give us a list of the officers in their order?

Answer. Mr. Berry is the captain; first lieutenant, Thomas Nolan; second lieutenant, Oliver Clark; third lieutenant, myself; orderly sergeant, Mr. Graves; ensign, John Bean; pioneer, James Flynn; sergeant, Josiah Harding; and there are eight corporals mixed up in the company somewhere; I cannot tell who they are.

Question. These are all prominent and respectable citizens?

Answer. Yes, sir; they are all freeholders.

Question. Citizens of your neighborhood?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Your company, you say, is organized under some law of Maryland?

Answer. Yes, sir; under the regular militia act.

Question. It is a volunteer company?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Such a one as is authorized by this law?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. You say your company is organized with reference to home protection?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. I suppose you in your neighborhood, near the border, are very liable to inroads from the non-slaveholding States?

Answer. We expected such. By the way, we have suffered a great deal from it.

Question. They very often come over and attempt to steal your negroes and induce them to run away?

Answer. I cannot say they attempt to steal them ; but they very often run away, and we do not get them.

Question. The people in your neighborhood have very often heard of the invasion of John Brown?

Answer. Yes, sir ; and we were very sorry it was not in our State.

Question. And your company was organized to protect yourselves from inroads from the north or anywhere else?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. What inroads did you anticipate?

Answer. Well, sir, we expected nothing more than if such a thing as coercion of the south was decided upon, and a war arises between the north and south, Maryland would be the battle ground.

Question. And you were making arrangements to be prepared for such a thing?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And those were the rights you were to defend, which you alluded to?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. How far are you from the border free States?

Answer. We are about eight miles from the District line.

Question. How far are you from the Pennsylvania line?

Answer. I do not know ; I have no idea.

Question. You have no idea how far you are from the free States?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Since you have been living there has there been any incursion from the free States?

Answer. We attribute it to the free States ; we do not know who did it : our slaves have run away and we have not got them. We do not know where it came from.

Question. Or what made them run away?

Answer. We supposed it was to get their liberty : that they wanted to be free.

Question. You have suffered from nothing else?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Except that your slaves have run away and you could not get them?

Answer. That is all.

Question. Have you ever heard from them?

Answer. We have heard that they were in Canada. We do not know how they got there, except by the underground railroad.

Question. Was your company organized for any other purpose than that you supposed that in case of secession Maryland and Washington would be the battle ground?

Answer. We supposed so.

Question. Did you organize for any other purpose?

Answer. To protect ourselves only.

Question. In that emergency?

Answer. Yes, sir ; nothing else.

Question. O : how many does your company now consist?

Answer. We have now forty-eight members.

Question. Do you have meetings?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Where are they held?

Answer. This evening it will be held at my house, in Colesville.

Question. Where have they been held before?

Answer. They are held there generally. They have been held at different times at Mr. Graves's, and sometimes at the Cross Roads.

Question. How often do you meet?

Answer. Once a week now; I think we shall meet oftener hereafter.

Question. For what purpose do you meet?

Answer. We want to make ourselves as proficient as possible in drill; we were all raw in that.

Question. It is your purpose in case of secession to join the south?

Answer. If there is a war, we will go with the south; that is our intention.

Question. What is your business?

Answer. I am in a little of everything; storekeeper, postmaster, hotel-keeper, farmer—almost anything you can start away from home.

Question. How many slaves do you own?

Answer. We have four in the family.

Question. Did you ever lose any?

Answer. No, sir, not that I recollect of; my grandmother has lost them frequently heretofore.

Question. You never knew of anybody from the free States ever coming in there?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. You believe in the right of secession?

Answer. Well, sir, I believe the south has a perfect right to do as they are doing, unless we can get the Crittenden compromise. We would all be very glad to get that.

Question. On whose suggestion was this company got up?

Answer. I think it originated with Dr. Berry himself, the captain.

Question. What measures were taken to get it up?

Answer. We put up notices at different points, requesting the citizens of the district to meet at a certain place, on a given day, for the purpose of forming a military association.

Question. Did you pass any resolutions?

Answer. We passed those resolutions of Mr. Crittenden's.

Question. Any others?

Answer. No, sir; merely the by-laws for the company.

Question. Have you the by-laws here?

Answer. I have not. I can send for a copy if you wish. They are merely regulations for the members.

Question. Have you passed any resolutions touching political matters?

Answer. No, sir. Our first resolution was one making ourselves liable to the call of Governor Hicks, of Maryland, under the militia act regulating volunteer companies.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Is Governor Hicks a secessionist ?

Answer. Well, sir, it is hard to tell what he is ; it is hard to define his position.

Question. Is he regarded in your neighborhood, and by the members of your company, as being a disunionist ?

Answer. No, sir, not at all ; just the other way.

Question. At the time you put yourself under his command you knew he was a Union man ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; we preferred the Union, if we could get our rights under the Constitution. That is all that we ask for.

Question. But if you cannot get them, and war comes, you are with your section ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You are armed and equipped for that purpose ?

Answer. We would like to get our arms as soon as possible ; we have not got them yet.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. You would follow Maryland wherever she went ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; provided she did not go with the north. We could not follow Maryland there, because we would have to leave Maryland. We could not stay there, and it would be necessary for us to go where we could live.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. What difficulty would you encounter in staying in Maryland under those circumstances ?

Answer. We expect an increase of slave property, and of course we could not hold it in a northern State.

Question. You said if Maryland went with the north, you would have to leave Maryland ; on what account ?

Mr. BRANCH said he objected to asking the witness his reasons for his political opinions.

Mr. DAWES. You asked him if he would go with the south in case of secession, and he said he would ; and I want to know why he would not go with the north if Maryland remained with the north.

Mr. BRANCH. I did not ask the witness that question. I had understood him to say that if Maryland or the south seceded, he would go with the south ; and I only repeated the answer he had given in order to see if I had understood him correctly.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness has said that they expect an increase of slave property, and if Maryland went with the north he could not hold it.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir ; that is what I said.

The question was not pressed.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. Do you know of any other companies lately formed in Maryland ?

Answer. There are two at Rockville ; one under Richard J. Bowie. and one under William S. Bouie.

Question. Infantry or cavalry ?

Answer. One is infantry, Mr. Bouie's company ; the other is cavalry, I believe.

Question. How far is that from you ?

Answer. Some eight miles.

Question. How far is it from Washington ?

Answer. Only twelve miles.

Question. How large companies are they ?

Answer. Full companies.

Question. What constitutes a full company ?

Answer. Thirty-two infantry, besides the officers.

Question. Do you know how lately they have been formed ?

Answer. Since this southern question has been agitated.

Question. Have they got their arms ?

Answer. Mr. Bouie's company has. I do not know about the cavalry.

Question. Do you know whether they hold meetings for drill ?

Answer. I do not know.

Question. Do you know the purposes of their organization ?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Do you know whether they hold similar views of their duty with your company ?

Answer. I suppose so ; they organized about the same time.

Question. Do you know of any other company formed ?

Answer. There is one at Brookville.

Question. How far is that from you ?

Answer. Seven miles ; and twenty-one from Washington.

Question. Have they got their arms ?

Answer. They have.

Question. When did they organize ?

Answer. They have organized within the past three months.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Did these companies get their arms from Governor Hicks ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Under the regular militia laws ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. Do you know for what purpose they are organized ?

Answer. Merely for show, I should suppose. They have a flashy uniform, and look as though they went in for something nice.

Question. Do you know whether their ideas of duty are the same as yours ?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Do you know who is their commander ?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Are these all the companies you know of ?

Answer. All that are in our county.

Question. Do you know of any in any of the other counties?

Answer. There is one in Prince George's county, under Captain Snowden.

Question. How far is that from here?

Answer. About four miles and a half.

Question. Do you know of any other companies in any other part of the State?

Answer. No, sir; I have heard of others, but I know nothing of them.

Question. In what parts of the State are those that you have heard of?

Answer. I have heard of a Planter's Guard in Marlborough, gotten up upon the same principles as ours.

Question. How far is that from this city?

Answer. Sixteen miles.

Question. Do you know of any other companies formed?

Answer. No, sir.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. You say you have heard of other companies?

Answer. Yes, sir; this "Planter's Guard;" that is all.

Question. Have you or not heard of large numbers of armed soldiers being embodied in the north and offering their services in connexion with these sectional troubles?

Answer. I cannot say that I have.

Question. Have you not read of that in the newspapers?

Answer. I have read of this "Planter's Guard" offering their services to South Carolina.

Question. I mean in the north.

Answer. If I have I do not now remember it.

Question. Have you read in the newspapers of General Sanford, of New York, offering the services of 80,000 men in connexion with these sectional troubles?

Answer. I do not remember that I have.

JAMES HICKS, JR.

No. 10.

WEDNESDAY, *January 30, 1861.*

JOHN B. CLARK sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Has, at any time, any person or persons communicated to you any intentions that they had to seize the Capitol or any other public property here?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Has any person or persons, representing themselves to be a committee, or anything of the kind, ever communicated to you an intention to hold by force any public property here after it should have been seized?

Answer. My answer to that would be, in the first place, "No ;" but I will connect with it an explanation. Gentlemen, whose names I cannot now give, for the reason that I do not remember them, have conversed with me, in general speculative conversations, in reference to the question of secession, the effect of secession, and the rights that would accrue after secession to the States that had seceded; and, collaterally, the effect of that movement upon the Capitol and the public property in other States.

Question. The effect of secession after it had taken place?

Answer. Yes, sir; and then what would be the interests of the slave States—I might say their duty—in co-operating to maintain the jurisdiction they might assert. I have had conversations with gentlemen—I cannot now say with whom—but they have been frequent; not in reference particularly to the Capitol, more than upon other public property, including forts and arsenals; the same that we are discussing in the House. I have had opinions expressed to me, and I have expressed opinions myself, without any reference to any particular species of property.

Question. Where do you board here?

Answer. At Brown's Hotel.

Question. Will you state whether you were called upon recently by Ex-Governor Lowe, of Maryland, and some other persons from Maryland, at your room in Brown's Hotel, who stated anything on this subject to you there?

Answer. A number of gentlemen from Maryland had a conversation with me. I am at fault in regard to their names; I do not remember them. But they were introduced to me as some gentlemen of distinction. I was not called upon; it was rather a casual meeting. The call was one rather for acquaintance, I understood. It was at my room, and we talked of various subjects. The person you speak of as governor may have been there. It seems to me there was a person called governor there, or some one who bore that title. I cannot say that he was a citizen of Maryland; but there were a number of citizens of Maryland there. I was introduced to all of them, but I cannot give the name of a single one of them now. They were all strangers to me. Mr. Stewart, member of Congress from Maryland, introduced them to me. We met accidentally at the head of the stairway as they were about passing down the stairs; and as my room was right at the head of the stairs, after I was introduced to a number of them I invited them into my room. My mind recurs to that interview now as the only one I had with more than one person at a time from Maryland.

Question. Did they represent themselves as being a committee here from Maryland?

Answer. No, sir; I do not think they did.

Question. How many were there of them altogether?

Answer. I cannot tell; there was a number of them.

Question. A half a dozen of them?

Answer. I think there were a half a dozen; I cannot state positively.

Question. You would think there were as many as a half a dozen, or more of them?

Answer. I should think there were a half a dozen.

Question. I mean from Maryland.

Answer. My impression is now—and it is only an impression—that they were all from Maryland. I will not be positive about that, for I attached not much importance to the conversation; it was more social than otherwise.

Question. After they had entered your room, did they request you to lock your door, as having something secret to communicate?

Answer. No, sir; nothing of the sort.

Question. Nothing inconsistent with its being an accidental meeting?

Answer. Nothing in the world.

Question. Accidental on their part as well as on yours?

Answer. I presume it was; I know nothing to the contrary; I have given you the way we met.

Question. Was anything said there as to any design or wish they had to take the city of Washington, in case of the secession of Maryland?

Answer. Well, I cannot tell. I did not understand that. We talked of what the effect of the secession of Maryland would be upon the District of Columbia.

Question. The effect upon legal rights?

Answer. What would be the legal consequences of secession, embracing the property of the District; that was talked about in the course of the conversation.

Question. Can you refresh your memory, so as to state whether this ex-governor was Governor Lowe or not?

Answer. I cannot. I do not think I could give the name of a single gentleman there, except Mr. Stewart.

Question. Was anything said either about seizing or holding the public property here in Washington, in case of secession—holding it by force?

Answer. I cannot repeat what was said.

Question. Go on to state it in your own language, if you please.

Answer. The question of the disruption of the confederacy was the subject of the conversation—the propriety or impropriety of the secession movement. The legal right of secession was discussed. I may as well say, however, that there was a difference of opinion upon that subject between some of the gentlemen present and myself. I cannot tell what was said, but the constitutional right of secession was discussed, and the probability of the federal government applying force upon the seceding States, in case of secession, was discussed, and opinions *pro* and *con* were expressed upon that subject. The effect of secession upon the District of Columbia, and the public property here, was discussed; and, in the event of Maryland seceding, and the other border slave States seceding, the propriety of negotiating for this District and the public property here, and the resisting any force to prevent that negotiation, were also discussed. I do not say they were discussed at length, but they were named in the conversation, without

any form or ceremony ; but these points were referred to in the course of the conversation. And in that connexion the question was raised, or it was adverted to, as to what, in case Maryland seceded, and (the public property being in this District) the federal government should apply force upon the seceding States—what would be the effect upon the Capitol and the public property here, and what, in that contingency, would be the duty of the seceding States? That matter was discussed ; and I believe that includes all the topics of conversation that we had. It had no system, and I understood no particular purpose in it. I did not regard it as anything further than an effusion of the sentiment that was then rife through the city here.

There were gentlemen from Maryland who seemed to enter largely into the consideration of these questions. I gave my opinion unreservedly upon all of them. My opinions are no secret, and I can give them to the committee, if they desire it. I told these gentlemen that I did not believe that the constitutional right of secession existed. I told them that my opinion was, that while a State was in the Union she was bound to obey its laws ; that my policy was that all the slave States should co-operate together, to act together in any movement that was deemed indispensable for their equality and safety ; and I told them that when that was done, and it became necessary, in the judgment of the border States, to secede from the government, I would use my influence to make as large contributions to resist force, if it was applied, as my State could furnish.

Question. As you did not believe in the constitutional right of secession, it would then become a question of revolution, acknowledged on all hands?

Answer. That is all. My purpose was this : to inform those gentlemen that I was in favor of resisting force, and that I would make common cause, so far as I was concerned, whatever my opinions might be about the legal right of secession. If the southern States seceded in a body, or whether they did or not, I would not willingly permit force to be applied to a seceding State ; and I would use my influence in my State to resist it at all hazards. I am not quoting my remarks, but that was the purport of the conversation.

Question. When they met you in the hall did they state that they wanted to see you particularly ?

Answer. I cannot now repeat what was said. I regarded it merely as an honorable call. I met Judge Stewart—they were his friends, as I understood—and he introduced me to them, and remarked to them that I was a member of Congress from Missouri, and to me that they were from Maryland. Some remark was made about these being stirring times ; I do not know who made it ; and I asked the question what Maryland was going to do. I think I made that remark, because I often ask the question. My room door was close at hand, and I invited them all into my room ; and they all came in there and spent a few minutes. I do not think they were in there more than twenty minutes, but I will not say exactly the time. Some gentlemen may have said that they wanted to see me ; perhaps they did ; but if they did, I regarded it as a mere compliment. I will state this to the committee : No one of the gentlemen present, I am certain, intimated

any disposition to attack the Capitol, or take it by force; and the question of force and of contributions was only to resist an attack, in case of the secession of Maryland

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. An attack upon what?

Answer. The conversation was about the effect the secession of Maryland would have upon the public property within the bounds of the State of Maryland.

Question. Did it extend to contributing forces to aid Maryland in asserting her rights to the public property if the United States should claim and defend it?

Answer. In case of secession, the right to the public property in Maryland and the other States.

Question. In the District of Columbia, I mean.

Answer. Presuming that in case of secession the District of Columbia would go back to Maryland.

Question. In the event of Maryland seceding and asserting her right to the public property here, did the contributions of force you speak of contemplate aiding Maryland in asserting that right against the United States?

Answer. Not particularly as to the Capitol. The Capitol was included with the other public property. I think some other public property was named.

Question. Then you mean to say that it was contemplated there, and you assured them that you would use your influence to furnish from Missouri her full share of force to aid Maryland, if the United States should resist her in asserting her rights to the public property within this District?

Answer. No, sir; that was not it. The question was about different States seceding. And it came up as to the relation of Maryland and the other border slave States to the free States, and about the public property. We discussed the question about the public property at Charleston—at least it was named; I do not know that it was discussed. And the question came to this: in case Maryland seceded, there was so much of the public property within the bounds of Maryland the United States might be stimulated to apply force here at this point to force her back into the Union, or, as it was used, to force her to submit to the authority of the United States, as there was so much of the public property of the United States within her borders. And the question was whether in that contingency, in case Maryland seceded, she should expect to give up and submit.

Question. Without any regard to the right of secession, or to the United States agreeing to let her secede, did they request you, or did you assure them that you would use your influence in Missouri, to get Missouri to aid the State of Maryland in any attempt to take the public property here as against the United States?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. If the United States limited her attempt at force to the protection of her property in the District of Columbia, was it contemplated in that conversation to resist her in that?

Answer. There was no application made except to repel any force brought against Maryland in case she seceded, and the exercise of dominion by force over public property within her jurisdiction.

Question. If the United States attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the public property that lies within the District of Columbia?

Answer. No, sir; the Capitol was expressly excluded; I recollect that Judge Stewart remarked in that conversation—and I do not know that any other gentleman spoke—in answer to the question, where Congress should sit in case Maryland seceded—I think I asked that question—and it was remarked that, as a matter of course, if the federal government saw proper to occupy the Capitol, and would let the authorities of Maryland alone, there would be no collision.

Question. That is the very point I wanted to get at, whether, if the United States contented herself with exercising jurisdiction over property within this District, it was contemplated to interfere?

Answer. No, sir, not at all; I will tell you why I think it was so. I remember a remark I made as they left the room. I addressed no one in particular, but I remarked: "Gentlemen, you must remember that while we form part of the United States we never will break the laws of the United States; but while I say that, whenever the United States undertakes to subjugate a sister State who sees proper either to rebel or secede, why, make your draft upon Missouri, gentlemen, and your draft will be honored." That is all I said; I recollect that now; I apprehend that was about the substance of what was said.

Question. What I wanted was just this: if any collision with the United States was contemplated if the United States persisted in holding on to her jurisdiction over this District?

Answer. I think it was right the reverse, unless force was used to subjugate a State.

Question. Force outside of the District?

Answer. Yes, sir. This was said too: if Maryland seceded, there was something said about negotiations for the Capitol. Judge Stewart remarked that he despised this snatch game of taking the public property; that if they seceded, the right way was to pay for the property like honorable men. However, it was a desultory conversation.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. No one of these gentlemen gave you to understand that they were a committee representing anybody?

Answer. No, sir. The word "committee" might have been used, but I do not now remember. Perhaps I might have used the word "committee," but I do not remember now. But I did not understand that they were appointed by any public meeting, or by any legal authority.

Question. The precise point in this: whether these gentlemen that met you there said or did anything that implied that they represented anybody formally or informally, except merely themselves, or whether they were the representatives of any public meeting or organization in Maryland?

Answer. Perhaps my answer ought to be that they did not. There

was this remark made some how or other in the conversation: that there had been some public meeting somewhere in Maryland, and the name of the place was alluded to, I think; but I was not familiar with the name, and do not now remember it. I do not believe they were deputed to call especially upon any one. I am sure they were not deputed especially to call upon me.

Something has been said about the door being locked. The door of my room was locked, and I will explain about that. My room is at the head of the stairs, and is small, and these gentlemen about filled it. At that particular time the porters or servants about the hotel were delivering a lot of documents at my room, and while we were in conversation, they were rather troublesome in knocking at the door and coming in so much. So I just got up and locked the door on that account. Nobody asked me to do it, and I did not lock it to keep anybody out of the room, except as stated.

Question. You locked it merely for your own convenience?

Answer. Yes, sir; that was all. I do not know that any gentleman present knew that it was locked. I do not remember whether I remarked upon it or not. But there was no design in it at all.

Question. You say you cannot recollect the names of any of these gentlemen?

Answer. I do not. I think one was introduced to me as governor; but that is a mere impression. I am very sure that I never before saw any of the gentlemen except one, who told me that he had been introduced to me when I was in Baltimore last summer at the convention. I have forgotten his name now.

Question. Did they state the object they had in view in coming to this city?

Answer. No, sir; but they stated this, or I learned it in course of the conversation: They were in the city to ascertain as well as they could, to use the expression of one of the gentlemen, "what the devil was going to become of the country;" that the whole world seemed to be in a flame, and they came here to learn what was going on. I cannot say how that came in, but I recollect it was said by some of the gentlemen present. I think it was in answer to my question as to what Maryland was going to do, and I think I got the answer in that way: that they had come here to see what was going on.

Question. Was anything said there, or anything like it, about preventing, by force, the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln?

Answer. Yes, sir; something was said, in speaking of the organizations about the country, that they had heard that some such thing was meditated, and that movement was denounced.

Question. Denounced them?

Answer. Yes, sir, as not existing in the mind of anybody, unless it was some—I forget what term was used, some term peculiar to the rowdies of Baltimore—unless it was some rabble, and they did not know that even that was the case.

Question. No one there expressed any approbation of such a scheme?

Answer. No, sir; they all laughed at it; I laughed at it. I told them that I had heard so, too; and I told them, I think, that the President had prepared a message to send to Congress, or something

like it. They all laughed at it as some old woman's story that had got afloat; and all said that there was no such design, unless the State should secede in the meantime, and civil war should break out, and an attempt should be made to subjugate the State, and then nobody could tell what the result would be. I do not know positively that even that was said then, but it is very often said in conversation.

Question. You had no knowledge that these gentlemen were going to call upon you before you met them?

Answer. No, sir; not until I met them at the stairs. I met them all together; Judge Stewart was a little in advance. I had had a conversation at the dinner-table, half an hour before, with another gentleman, an acquaintance from Maryland. He remarked to me that there were a number of gentlemen from Maryland then in the city. I think his name is Johnson. He had been a delegate to the convention at Charleston. We were talking about our troubles at Charleston and also at Baltimore. We had not met afterwards until we dined together then. We differed somewhat in our views and action at the convention, and we were recounting our differences and connecting them with the result of things in the country. We were both remarking about the excited state of the country, and he said that there were then in this city a number of gentlemen from Maryland. I met them afterwards at the head of the stairs, and invited the whole of them into my room. I recollect that immediately after they left, I met a gentleman or two and told them what had been said.

Question. Has any other person or persons, at any time, ever expressed to you the idea that they were engaged in efforts to make any seizure of the Capitol?

Answer. No, sir, not that they were so engaged.

Question. Or that anybody was?

Answer. Well, no. I met some ladies, and they asked me if I thought there would be any war—one or two old women, but no men; and I was sent for last night, and asked if it was safe for women to stay here.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Now, to bring this thing right to the point as much as we can: Of course, you have read the rumors and reports in the papers that gave rise to this inquiry. Have you any knowledge of anything that would lead you to believe that there was any foundation in fact for these rumors?

Answer. I do not believe there is a particle; that is the extent of my judgment.

Question. Do you know any fact that would go to establish the existence of any such purpose, or design, or organization?

Answer. I do not; and I do not believe any such thing. If you want my opinion, and I have expressed it on several occasions, I have told my friends that I did not believe there was any danger of collision here, unless there was some great display by the troops here pressing upon the masses that always come about on such occasions. I thought that the display of troops here, and the building of batteries and stabling for the horses, and making a great display, was all

wrong; and with great respect for the President, I have thought all the time that he was committing a great error in this thing. That is what I have said, and that is my honest idea about it.

Question. Has any one ever told you there was such a scheme?

Answer. I cannot say; perhaps somebody has.

Question. I do not refer to rumors. Has any one told you that as though he had knowledge of it?

Answer. I cannot now remember any one who spoke of it as having knowledge of it. I have heard it speculated upon on some occasions. I do not now remember the name of any one. There has been so much talk about this thing that I have paid very little attention to it. I have not attached much importance to it, and have not tried to treasure it up. If I should hear some name, it might direct my attention to some conversation.

Question. I understood you to say that you thought there were about a half a dozen of these gentlemen who were in your room?

Answer. I think so; that is my impression.

Question. Did this friend that dined with you shortly before state to you what he understood to be their business here?

Answer. No, sir. I cannot tell you now in what connexion exactly that he referred to them. It was in connexion with the general excitement of the country that he said there were a number of gentlemen here from Maryland. I think I asked whether Maryland would have an extra session of their legislature. How the conversation was continued, I do not now remember; but it was in that connexion that he spoke of a number of gentlemen from Maryland then in the city. There was no purpose avowed which I now remember. I inquired about certain gentlemen in Maryland, none of whom were in that company.

Question. Do you know whether these Maryland gentlemen called upon any other members of Congress, at that time, in connexion with this business?

Answer. I do not know. I may have been in some other room, and seen some of these gentlemen there, but I do not now remember it. I do not know whether they did or not.

Question. Do you know whether any or all of them had interviews with other members of Congress upon this subject of coercion?

Answer. I do not know.

Question. You do not know of your own knowledge?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you ever heard it said that they did?

Answer. No, sir, I have not. I will say this, that they had the appearance of just having left Judge Stewart's room; he was with them at the time. They were entire strangers to me. I never saw them before or since to know them. They were introduced to me as men of distinction from Maryland.

Question. Did they make any statement then in your room touching the amount and kind of assistance that they should get in case of trouble from sources outside of Maryland; that is, if that state of things should arise in which you said Missouri would honor their draft?

Answer. I do not now remember.

Question. Did they state what their expectations were in getting help from other States than Maryland?

Answer. Well, sir, I understood that in case they seceded, and there was an attempt by the federal government to subjugate them, they would expect all the slave States to help them. I use the word "help" now; I do not know what word they used. The whole conversation was hypothetical; it was based upon the idea of force used upon them by the general government in case they seceded. And I will say here that most of the gentlemen appeared to be opposed to secession. The whole of the conversation, my part of it also, was hypothetical, upon the supposition that when the State seceded, if the federal government undertook to subjugate them, or, indeed, any seceding State, the other slave States, whether they thought the State had done right or wrong, should not let that be done if they could furnish means to prevent it. That was what I said, and that was what I understood to be the idea of all of them. I made the remark, I believe, that we of Missouri were opposed to the idea of the constitutional right of secession, and that we thought South Carolina had acted precipitately. And I illustrated my idea in this way: that if we had brothers, and we knew that they were going to be attacked, we would not let them be whipped, even if they were in the wrong; and so with the south.

Question. If I understood you aright, you do not think that they stated how much force they could rely upon outside of Maryland?

Answer. I do not think they did. We might have assessed the States; but I do not think we did that. It was a mere speculative conversation, and I do not rely upon recollecting it well at all.

Question. Did they make any statement as to how much force they could raise in Maryland in case they were put to it?

Answer. It may be that I asked the question, and I think there was some answer to it, but I do not now remember. I think I asked them this question: "If you do secede, and a fight comes on, what can you do yourselves?" I reckon I asked that question; it would have been natural for me to have done so; and if I did, I got an answer, but I do not now remember what it was.

Question. Did they tell you in plain terms that they would wish aid from Missouri? Is that what prompted your remark that Missouri would honor their draft?

Answer. I think that may have been a little forwardness in me, a sort of bragging upon the chivalry of my State.

Question. Did they say anything about wishing aid from Missouri to capture the Capitol of the United States, or any other public property in the District of Columbia?

Answer. No, sir. The word "Capitol" was used in the course of the conversation, and it came up in this way, if I recollect it aright now: It was, that if they seceded, and a civil war broke out, and force was attempted to be applied to subjugate the State, then, when that war commenced, the Capitol and everything else would be subject to the stronger power. I do not now remember how it came up. But it was a mere speculative conversation about the result of a war.

Question. Then nothing was said by them expressive of a wish that Missouri should furnish any aid to take the Capitol until there should be war?

Answer. I do not think there was any wish to take the Capitol at all.

Question. And nothing expressive of a wish that Missouri should furnish aid for such a purpose?

Answer. I am sure I did not make any proposition to contribute men to take the Capitol. There was a conversation between myself and Judge Stewart, which I regarded as merely playful. I said: "Judge, when you secede, what are you going to do with the Capitol? Is it to be rented out, or who is to have it?" The judge said that if all the slave States should secede, and the northern States remained as the federal government, and were willing to occupy the Capitol within their jurisdiction, so far as he was concerned they were welcome to do it. And then we talked about the result of things in case of force being applied to a seceding State. The whole thing resolved itself into this. I esteemed that whole interview, in the first place, as not a formal call upon me, but it was just as I have described it. The gentlemen there, including Judge Stewart, had for their purpose to deliberate in reference to the action of Maryland. They viewed the peculiar location and position of Maryland as more hazardous than that of any other State. That is all about it. And one of them gave that as a reason why she should be more deliberate and more circumspect, because there was more dependent upon her action. All parties agreed that in case it became necessary, in the opinion of Maryland, to secede, and the federal government undertook to subjugate her, she would resist to the bitter end, and in that event she would desire help, and wanted to know what assistance she could get from her sister States. That was the whole drift of the conversation; and it was interlarded with the dangers attending the matter, so as to lead me to believe that these gentlemen were meditating upon the subject.

Question. Did these gentlemen state that in case Maryland seceded she would claim jurisdiction of the District here, in any sense different from what she would of the Capitol, for instance, or any other piece of property of the United States here?

Answer. It seemed to be accorded that in case Maryland seceded the District would revert to the jurisdiction of Maryland. I do not know who made the remark, but that seemed to be the acknowledged idea.

Question. With more certainty than it would in regard to the Capitol, for instance?

Answer. That the jurisdiction of what had been ceded by Maryland would return to her.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. Did they intimate that they would assert that jurisdiction over the District by force?

Answer. Not unless there was an attempt to subjugate her.

Question. If the United States attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the District?

Answer. I do not know that the Capitol was designated.

Question. But they would assert by force, if necessary, the jurisdiction that they would regain over the district?

Answer. I do not know as that was spoken of at all. I know this: the question was named in the conversation, whether the District would retrocede back to Maryland; and some opinion was expressed upon that subject. I do not think there was any specific conversation about asserting jurisdiction over the District any more than any other place in Maryland.

Question. Did these gentlemen name any particular amount of aid that they expected to get from Virginia?

Answer. I cannot say. Virginia was named, and, as I remarked, we might have assessed the different States, but I am not now impressed with any distinct recollection about it. I know Virginia was named in the course of conversation, but in what connexion I really now cannot tell. My idea was this: the reason I used the word "draft" was this: I had endeavored to present to these gentlemen the idea that I have never failed to try to present, when it was prudent for me to talk at all among gentlemen of character, that Missouri, while she was a border State and had a homogeneous interest with the other slave States, wanted this thing done right, and that if we had to be driven to the desperate alternative of withdrawal, we ought to co-operate and do the thing right; and that, in my judgment, the slave States ought to have co-operated and consulted together, and if their grievances were too great to be borne, then we ought to have gone in a body. Yet, notwithstanding that my views had not been adopted, and some of the States had gone hastily and, as I thought, precipitately, still, as they were resenting wrongs that we all endured, I would not give my consent to have them subjugated, although they resented their wrongs at a wrong time and in a wrong manner. I said to them—"Now, gentlemen, that is our *status*—that is our position; if you secede and the United States undertakes to subjugate you, make your draft and we will respond." I reckon that is what I said. I always talk that way, and I think I did then.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Do you know whether these gentlemen called upon and had an interview with any of your colleagues?

Answer. I do not remember now of hearing of it. I do not know any such thing. I do not know that I have ever heard it. I do not now remember anything about it. I am very sure I was not with any of my colleagues when they were present.

Question. And you do not know that you ever heard of their doing so?

Answer. No, sir; and I will not be responsible for the entire accuracy of much that I have stated here, for I did not burden my mind very much with it, no more than I have with a hundred other things I have heard.

Question. Have you ever had any interview with Dr. Garnett, of this city? Has he ever called upon you upon this subject? or, I might first ask, do you know Dr. Garnett?

Answer. I do know him slightly.

Question. Has he ever talked with you upon this subject of seizing the Capitol, or of a secret organization?

Answer. No, sir. I am not very sure whether Dr. Garnett called upon me more than once, and then to visit me professionally when I was indisposed. Perhaps he called upon me on other occasions.

Question. How long ago was it that these gentlemen from Maryland were here?

Answer. Several weeks ago; it was the same evening that I met Mr. Johnson, and I have met him but once: I think it was during the Christmas holidays.

Question. Do you know Ex-Governor Lowe, of Maryland?

Answer. I do not, unless he was one of the gentlemen introduced to me on that occasion. I did not know him before, and I doubtless should not recognize one of the company now if I were to meet any of them on the street.

Question. You do not recollect whether they named the amount of force that Virginia would contribute?

Answer. No, sir: I do not remember in what connexion Virginia was mentioned. I remember that the name of Virginia was mentioned: not how or in what connexion it was mentioned.

JOHN B. CLARK.

No. 11.

THURSDAY, *January 31, 1861.*

WINFIELD SCOTT sworn and examined.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. As you have been informed, general, the duty imposed upon this committee by the House is to inquire and report to the House whether any organization or conspiracy exists here or hereabouts, having in view an attack upon the government or property of the government in this city, and I will leave it to you to state in your own way whether you have any knowledge or information of any such organization.

Answer. I have no direct personal knowledge upon the subject, but I have received innumerable letters from, probably, thirteen to sixteen States, three and four, and up to seven, a day, since it was known that I had been charged by the President with the peace and security of this city. These letters are more or less specific. I think that at least one-half of them were anonymous, and where the name is given the writer, in many cases, entreats me to suppress the name. And in several instances, when I have laid these letters before the Secretary of War, as often as his leisure permitted, I have cut the names out and put them into the bottom of my pocket, showing the names to the Secretary where he wished to have them. This I did lest through some inadvertence or accident the letters might be exposed.

These letters speak of several objects. I have some of them in my pocket, which I received this morning; and I have an abstract of one which was received yesterday, which points to two or three objects: the seizure of this Capitol, and, as a part of the same object, to seize the other public buildings of this city; next to the seizure of the public buildings these letters represent the purpose to be to prevent the counting of the ballots for President and Vice-President, which comes off towards the middle of next month; the third object is to prevent the inauguration of the President and Vice-President at the usual period. These letters, from the broad surface whence they come, either prove or seem to indicate a conspiracy for one of two purposes at least; a conspiracy to create a false alarm, with many ramifications; from the city of New York, from Virginia, from South Carolina, from three or four points in Missouri, besides very many letters from the cotton States, one or two from Cincinnati, and several from New Jersey. Whether there be a real name attached to them, or whether the letters be anonymous, they all speak of an extensive conspiracy for mischief. Some sort of conspiracy undoubtedly exists, either for mischief or creating a false alarm. I have a few of these letters received this morning, and I chance to have one received yesterday. But I have had innumerable such letters in the last three or four weeks.

Question. You say a portion of these letters were anonymous and a portion have names signed to them?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Is there any portion of them signed by names of persons known to you to be respectable and responsible persons?

Answer. I cannot say that I am acquainted with the character of any one of the writers, I mean of those who profess to convey specific intelligence. At this moment I cannot recall a single name that is personally known to me. Here are specimens [showing letters] of such as I have received; and here is an abstract of one I received yesterday, which letter I handed to the Secretary of War, and by some chance have this abstract with me.

The abstract was read as follows:

“Rumored perils to the Capitol.

“January 29, 1861.

“A. H., of New York, writes this second letter to say the secession leaders think that secession is dead without this city, (Washington,) and that it will be seized on or before March 4. Great reliance is placed on clerks in the government offices who have been sounded and sworn to secrecy. Vast numbers of men, say 400 or 500, are coming, and will come from the south and north with arms concealed in their baggage, and will be accommodated in the houses of the disaffected. Members of military companies north have been tampered with by promises of money. With such means they will surprise the city some morning before daylight, having the public buildings, archives, &c. They will cut the wires, take up the rails, and leave the north in some doubt for some days. Some men in

this city are in the plot, and they are making lists of prominent men to arrest or put to death. Breckinridge or Davis will be the President of the new republic. It is probable the surprise will be made after the arrival of the President elect. The date is not yet fixed. He says high officials in Washington, 'pooh! pooh!' at it. Put these generals and other true men on their guard. Says many more of the troops are necessary than the district militia; tampered with; recommends that martial law be declared here. Require the officials and employes to take publicly a solemn oath, &c. Call 30,000 or 50,000 northern militia, who will respond, to this city. The writer of the above says he runs some risk in communicating this information, &c."

By the CHAIRMAN.

Question. That is a mere abstract?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Prepared in your office?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Do you know the writer of that letter?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. This is an abstract of the second letter?

Answer. Yes, sir; indeed, I cannot keep one-tenth of them in my mind.

By Mr. BRANCH.

Question. Has this letter a real name signed to it?

Answer. I think it has. Here is a letter (showing one) from Williamsburg, New York, with some slips in it that have been cut out of the newspapers. I should not read it, probably, but throw it in the fire.

I will state again, in general terms, that I have received innumerable letters on this subject. And all through them there are indications of a conspiracy; an intention to create a false alarm and enjoy the joke; or there is an extraordinary conspiracy for a real purpose. I am sure I have received 80 or 90 such letters; one from Columbia, South Carolina; some from Mississippi, Louisiana, Ohio, Illinois, Virginia, Delaware, and many from Maryland, all speaking with great confidence of an existing conspiracy. The postmarks on the letters also prove that the letters come from the places named within.

Question. I understand you to say that in no instance have you received a letter of that description signed by a person known to you?

Answer. I do not think I have had a letter containing any specific intelligence from any person with whom I am personally acquainted.

Question. Have you in any instance endeavored, through your subordinates or otherwise, to trace any of these letters, and ascertain whether they were from responsible persons or not?

Answer. I have not.

Question. Where they profess to be signed by the names of the writers, have you in any instance made endeavors to ascertain whether they were real names or fictitious?

Answer. I have not. I have been too much occupied to follow up such investigations.

Question. You say some of these letters come from the southern States?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Some from those States that have seceded?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What proportion do you think comes from those States?

Answer. I think a small proportion are from the cotton States. I remember a very specific letter from Columbia, South Carolina.

Question. Do any considerable portion of them come from those slaveholding States that have not seceded?

Answer. More than from the seceded States?

Question. Where does the great bulk come from, the north or the south?

Answer. The most come, I think, from Virginia; next, I think, from Kentucky. I have had more from Virginia than from any other quarter.

Question. You think, then, there are a larger number of them from southern States than from northern States?

Answer. I think so.

Question. Have these letters, in any instance, given you the names of parties whom they allege to be engaged in this conspiracy, so that you could trace them?

Answer. Yes, sir. I did not know that there were any names mentioned in this abstract. I had forgotten that some very high names were mentioned there. I have here (producing a small slip of paper) a name I cut out of a letter, which I marked so that I could tell to what letter it belongs. It was a very specific letter, that came from Columbia, South Carolina; postmarked there.

Question. Do you know whether it is a real or a fictitious name?

Answer. I do not. The handwriting is a very good one, very distinct. The letter gives proof of education. It is written with great strength; some taste in composition.

Question. You say that he gives you particulars?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Can you state to the committee any of those particulars?

Answer. I would rather not trust to memory. I can doubtless obtain the letter from the Secretary of War.

Question. Have you any means of ascertaining whether that name is a real or a fictitious name?

Answer. I have not inquired of a human being about it. There was nobody near me who was acquainted there; and, in truth, I was afraid to stir in the matter, for this individual said his life would be in danger if his name should become known. Many of them who give their names desire to have them suppressed; and this writer says expressly that it would cost him his life to let his name become known.

Question. You have been, in your life, engaged in many important scenes. Have you or not been in the habit, on all important and public occasions, of receiving large numbers of anonymous letters per mail?

Answer. I have, in every period of my life, when actively engaged, received some. But not one-tenth of the number in the same period before. I have not inquired. I have felt a little curiosity with respect to that letter from Columbia. I handed it to the Secretary of War after I had cut the name off, and told him I would show him the name if he wished; I think he did not ask for it. I remarked to him that the writer was in great dread of having his name exposed. And I mentioned to him further that I thought he must have been one of the sworn conspirators, and had violated his oath. I think that is the remark I made to the Secretary of War.

Question. Would you object to that name being furnished to the committee?

Answer. If the committee demand it of me, I think it important I should be compelled to give it. But, though I have as much confidence in the gentlemen of the committee as I would have in myself, I should be exceedingly reluctant to disclose the name; I think it would endanger the writer perhaps unnecessarily.

Question. The only object would be to make inquiry as to whether it was a real name, and if so, to have the person before the committee in order to ascertain what the plans and arrangements of the conspirators are?

Answer. I mentioned to Secretary Holt, at the time I handed him the letter, that this individual could not have spoken with so much precision as to measures and persons without having been himself sworn a member of the conspiracy which he alleged to exist.

Question. Or what would be equally as effective, could you, through some member of your staff, or other means within your control, ascertain with certainty whether it is a real name or not?

Answer. I have three officers in my staff: one is a native of Delaware, one of Virginia, and one of Massachusetts. I do not think that either of them has many acquaintances in South Carolina, or rather any particular acquaintance in Columbia. I will give this name if the committee demands it. And I will make some little inquiry myself, if I can. I do not know that I can. I do not know, at this moment, in the District of Columbia, a single person from the interior of South Carolina. I have been extensively acquainted in that State, but not of late years.

Mr. BRANCH. I think this is an important letter, and that we should have this name, for by it we might perhaps get a clue that would enable us to trace this matter.

The WITNESS. Here are some letters [producing them] sent to me from my office this morning. They are perhaps a week old.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think there is any necessity for putting this name on our records at this time. It might do individuals harm, or it might not. But so far as inserting it in this record at this time I should be opposed to it. If the general should think proper to intrust a copy of the name to the committee for their use in ferreting this matter out, if they should deem it necessary, or advisable, or practicable, I can see no impropriety in that; because I have every confidence in every member of the committee. But I am opposed to inserting it on our records at this time.

Mr. DAWES. I think it is important enough to justify the sending of some confidential agent there to obtain all information possible touching that communication.

The WITNESS. I am very confident, as I remarked to the Secretary when I brought the letter to his notice, that he is a sworn member of the very conspiracy which he denounces.

By Mr. COCHRANE :

Question. Did you communicate the name to the Secretary of War?

Answer. I think not. I think I cut it out, and as I handed the letter to him I told him I would give him the name if he desired it. But I think he did not ask it.

Question. I asked in reference to the probability of the War Department being engaged in this very business.

Answer. I think not. My impression is that this individual represents himself as travelling from Charleston to the west.

Here is a letter [producing one] among some few that I accidentally have here. I have not been to my office this morning. I sent up for the summons under which I appear before you, and in sending the summons they put in these letters with it. This letter is dated at Nashville, Tennessee. I will read it.

“SIR: By the public papers I observe that you are organizing forces in the District of Columbia to resist any attack that may be made upon the federal capital on or before the 4th day of March next. From these statements I infer that you are informed to some extent of the movements making for that purpose. But you can hardly be fully acquainted with the magnitude of the danger, and the extent of the preparations to prevent Mr. Lincoln’s inauguration. A secret society exists through all the southern States, bound together by solemn obligations to prevent it at all hazards, even to the extent of causing his assassination before taking the oath of office. You may not credit this, but I am sorry to have to say that it is strictly true. And if the attempt be made to inaugurate Mr. Lincoln in the customary manner, the probabilities are great that some one will be willing to run the risk of immortalizing himself by propitiating the extreme southern feeling, and will make the attempt upon his life. If your precautions are sufficient to prevent a public exhibition of armed force the attempt will be certainly made.”

[There seems to be a negative wanting there.]

“The society to which I refer embraces not a few men sworn to support the Constitution and laws of the United States; men high in public life; some holding office at this time under the general government. Its numbers are already very great. Not a few of its members are in Washington. You meet them daily. Several are members of Congress. Treason is all around you, I fear to a far greater extent than you are aware; though I judge from the papers you are not unconscious of its existence.”

[I have no information in the world except through letters of this description.]

“If your preparations are not of a nature to render an attack hope-

less, it will certainly be made towards the last of February. Great show of armed force, ready at a moment's warning, and reliable, too, can easily prevent an irruption like that of the ancient Vandals.

"This communication is solely for your private eye, and is prompted simply by a desire to prevent, as far as practicable, the consummation of what I cannot but consider one of the most diabolical outrages ever perpetrated among a people professing to be civilized and Christian. It would be more than my life is worth for it to be known that this communication has been made."

Now, upon reading this letter, it may be that I have confounded this letter in part with the Columbia letter; I think this phrase is also in the other letter.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. You say that these anonymous letters come from the north as well as the south?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. From every part of the United States?

Answer. Not every part.

Question. From every section?

Answer. From every quarter.

Question. Do the writers of the letters from the north intimate that the conspiracy exists at the north?

Answer. In the city of New York; I do not learn that there is any conspiracy out of New York until you come to Maryland; I do not think I have any information of its extending north or east of the city of New York; but very many letters come from Maryland.

Question. You say you have taken no steps to ascertain whether these names are real or fictitious, or to trace out the facts the writers profess to give?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Then these letters constitute the whole basis upon which you have acted in regard to the defence of this city?

Answer. Yes, sir; except, perhaps, a few verbal assurances.

Question. You have an extensive acquaintance in Virginia, have you not, with the most patriotic citizens of the State?

Answer. Pretty extensive.

Question. Have any of your friends or acquaintances there written to you, or told you verbally that such a conspiracy existed in Virginia?

Answer. I have one or two letters from persons with whose names I am acquainted, but who do not stand in any intimate relation with me; I merely know the names and know they are respectable persons; some of the letters, perhaps, bearing such names, speak of the conspiracy; I cannot say whether they are genuine, nor have I ever stood in intimate relations with them, nor know their handwriting. I think I have some such intimating that this Capitol is in great danger.

Question. Have you not seen in this city, within the last four weeks, a large number of your Virginia friends of high standing in that State?

Answer. I have seen a number.

Question. Have any of them stated to you that a conspiracy existed in Virginia?

Answer. I think not; I have seen Mr. Rives and some four or five of our principal citizens; I do not think that any one of them have said so.

Question. You say that a large portion of these letters that you have received came from the State of Virginia?

Answer. I have, perhaps, rather more from Virginia than from any other one State.

Question. Have any of your personal friends or acquaintances in any other State informed you verbally that they knew, or had reason to think, there was a conspiracy?

Answer. I think not; nobody with whom I have had, heretofore, any habits of intimacy. I doubt if anybody from any other State, with whose name I was ever acquainted, has done so.

Question. Assuming that there was really danger, have you conferred with the civil, municipal, and military officers of this District, to ascertain whether they had sufficient means within the District to protect the public property here belonging to the government?

Answer. I have, partially. I have conversed with Major General Weightman, the head of the military of the city. I have conversed, I think, twice with the mayor of the city; I met him at a large dinner party the other day, and after dinner I conversed with him and the colonel of the marine corps.

Question. Did they intimate to you that they apprehended any danger of attack upon the government here?

Answer. The mayor said to me twice that he could not name a single body of men, or association of men, in this city, who entertained criminal designs against the government, or the public property of the city. I have seen him twice; he called at my office once with General Weightman. He thought that precautions were important, and he spoke of swearing in a number of special constables. But he said he could not lay his finger upon a spot—that was his phrase—that was disloyal. I understood him to mean that he could not name an association that was disloyal. He repeated nearly the same thing to me, at a dinner party this day week, at the house of the British minister. I had quite a detailed conversation with Colonel Harris, of the marine corps, concerting with him means of security. The mayor joined us, as I have reported repeatedly since. I have reported it to two persons, very high in the government, whom I find animated with a very lively desire to preserve the peace and protect the property of the city.

Question. Did the mayor ever tell you whether he was able to cope with any danger, by means of the military and municipal force of the District?

Answer. The military would not be directly under his command, except in the nature of a posse.

Question. In that nature, did the mayor ever inform you that he felt himself able to protect the peace of the city with the means in his reach?

Answer. I do not think he spoke directly to that point; he did not think there was danger.

Question. He did not think there was any danger?

Answer. He expressed himself that way repeatedly.

Question. Did he ever request you, as commanding general of the army, to afford him any assistance?

Answer. I do not think he did. I offered to be sworn in as a constable, and he agreed to accept me.

Question. He never applied for troops?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Did you ever confer with him before ordering troops here, as to its being necessary?

Answer. I think not.

Question. Did the mayor ever express to you any doubts of the loyalty of the people of the District, and their readiness to obey his summons?

Answer. I do not think he did; the mayor impressed me very favorably; perhaps I ought to stop there; but I have not seen anybody else who was impressed favorably by him. He won my confidence by his frank and earnest manner. I never had the pleasure of seeing the mayor but twice in my life; the first time was twelve or thirteen days ago, and the second time was the other day at dinner.

Question. What is his reputation as a municipal officer?

Answer. I do not know.

Question. You have been a great deal in this city for the last three or four years?

Answer. Very little. I will say, in regard to the mayor, that I understood he displayed very great zeal and energy, and met with great success in putting down a mob here two or three years ago. I was not here at the time. He alluded to it in his conversation with me. I can only speak of the impression he made upon me, which was very favorable.

Question. Then I gather from your replies that the mayor of the city has not called upon you to give him assistance to protect the peace of the city here, and that he thought the city was in no danger, and that he thought he was able, with the means in his reach, to protect the public property and the government?

Answer. He thought there was no danger, and he has not asked for assistance. Whether he said he was competent to protect the public property or not, I inferred that was his opinion, though I do not know that he said so in so many words.

Question. You have recently ordered a number of troops of the regular army here?

Answer. I have ordered a small number.

Question. What number have you ordered to the city and District?

Answer. I have ordered, I think, including those yet to come, eight companies.

Question. What will be the probable strength of those companies?

Answer. They would be about the average. None of the companies are full. We have two standards, one for the distant frontier, and one for the sea-coast and interior—fifty-four privates for the sea-

coast and interior, and eighty-four for the distant frontiers. Those eight companies, when they all reach this place, may number about four hundred and eighty men, perhaps.

Question. To what arms of the service do they belong?

Answer. Four companies are artillery, acting as infantry, and three are horse artillery, or flying artillery; two of these are now here, and the third will be here in a very few days. There is a company of sappers and miners from West Point. They are kept at West Point for engineering purposes, but during the winter they cannot give lessons. They are here sixty-two strong. They are very superior soldiers. There will be eight companies of regulars, including that company of sappers and miners; seven are now here or under orders, and one is now on the ocean, and will get its orders as soon as it reaches New York.

Question. Making eight companies to be concentrated here before the 4th of March?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Is that exclusive of the marines?

Answer. Yes, sir. I understand from Colonel Harris that he thinks of retaining one-half of the marines for the defence of the navy yard. There may be two hundred and forty in all of the marines.

Question. Where will these companies be stationed?

Answer. One at the United States arsenal, at Greenleaf's Point, some two miles from the Capitol. One is on G street, or F street, I forget which, the other side of the War Office; these two are horse companies. The sappers and miners are in the city armory. The volunteers of this city have a building in which they lodge their arms when they are not out drilling or parading. And the volunteers represented to me that those arms were in great danger of being stolen or burned by disaffected people of this city, and I accordingly put this company in the city armory building. It is across the canal, a little below the Smithsonian Institution. In the course of this week there will be two or three other companies here.

Question. Have you selected the points where they are to be stationed?

Answer. The quartermaster is instructed to hire buildings where he can find them. He has not reported to me where he will be able to obtain quarters for the next troops that will arrive; but one company, I think, will be on Capitol Hill; that is, I understood that he expected to engage quarters here; I do not know whether he has or not.

Question. You say these troops have not been ordered here in accordance with the request of the municipal authorities of the city?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Rather in disregard of the opinion of the mayor that they were not necessary?

Answer. I have not been requested by him to call any hither.

Question. He stated that it was not necessary?

Answer. He said it was not necessary.

Question. Has the President of the United States ordered it to be done in consequence of any information in his possession?

Answer. He has some information on the subject. I have heard

him read a letter very like the letters which I have received to-day. I have brought no troops here without the permission of the President of the United States, or at his instance.

Question. At his instance?

Answer. Originally it was agreed that so many troops should come. I had my opinion upon the subject, and I gave it. The troops which were originally designated between us have not all arrived. A portion of them are not yet here.

Question. Of course I did not mean to intimate a doubt that you had acted with his concurrence.

Answer. Of course I am subordinate to the President of the United States.

Question. What I desired to know was whether those troops were brought here at his special direction and instance, in consequence of those letters that you have told us about this morning?

Answer. He has heard of all the letters, except those that have come to-day, and he has seen some them. The Secretary of War has carried them to him, or given him the substance of them. The President, in a conversation between us, thought it was necessary to take some measures for the protection and safety of the city. In that conversation it was determined that so many troops should be brought here for that purpose, and I was charged by him with the peace of the city.

Question. Then I understand that these letters of which we have been speaking this morning, constitute the ground upon which you have been led to believe that the safety of the public property and the government required you to bring a portion of the army here?

Answer. Yes, sir. There is hardly anything beyond the letters.

Question. Do you know the numerical strength of the militia of this District?

Answer. I do not. I should suppose that the uniformed volunteer companies may amount to, perhaps, 350 or 400 men.

Question. That is, the drilled and officered companies?

Answer. Yes; the volunteers. I suppose they do not exceed 400. I have never seen the return.

Question. Can you give anything like an approximate estimate of the whole number subject to military duty in this District?

Answer. I have never seen the returns. I think there are some 400 drilled and armed men.

Question. Out of a population of 80,000 what would be a fair estimate of the number of men subject to military duty?

Answer. About one in six.

Question. That would be about 13,000 fighting men for a population of 80,000?

Answer. If you run up in your enlistments as high as men of the age of 65, it would be about one in five.

Question. These militia are subject to be called into service by the President of the United States under existing laws, are they not?

Answer. I believe he can only call them, as he could the militia from the States, in case of disturbance, to enforce the laws, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions. These are the purposes named in

the Constitution, and also in the act authorizing the calling forth of the militia.

Question. Was there within your possession any information going to show that the militia of this District are not reliable for the purpose of executing the laws, suppressing insurrections, and repelling invasions?

Answer. From the nature of the case, I can have no direct knowledge upon the subject; but some of the militia officers themselves tell me that there are many disaffected individuals in all except two or three companies; and I have heard of one entire company being disaffected—disloyal to the Constitution of the United States.

Question. Do you think that is the prevailing sentiment among the people of the District of Columbia?

Answer. I cannot speak further.

Question. Has that been so represented to you?

Answer. Some of the officers connected with the militia here—at least two of them—have told me, or dropped the remark casually in conversation, that there was a great deal of disaffection in some of the militia companies of the District. I have heard the militia of Georgetown excepted—at least two companies of them, one of infantry and one of horse.

Question. They are within the District, and embraced under the same regulations?

Answer. Yes, sir; they are within the District.

Question. You have heard them excepted, and heard that they were loyal, and have only heard that some individuals of companies in this city were disloyal?

Answer. I did hear of one entire company in this city that were thought disloyal.

Question. Have you heard any opinion expressed by the local authorities here that the militia, as a body, were not to be relied upon?

Answer. I have had the least intercourse in the world with the local authorities. The mayor did me the honor to call upon me once, with General Weightman.

Question. You did not order the troops here in consequence of the fact that you suspected the District militia could not be relied upon?

Answer. From the hints and suggestions made to me, I have considered that portions of many companies here were disaffected. But my information on that point is very imperfect.

Question. Not derived from any official quarters?

Answer. Nothing direct; nothing official. I do not know a single captain or lieutenant in the city. I may know some of them without being aware that they belong to the militia. I do not know that I am acquainted with one of them.

Question. Have you not recently had large demands made upon you for regular troops for public service in various quarters of the States and Territories?

Answer. Only under threats of having our forts seized.

Question. And you have, under these threats, had large demands made upon you?

Answer. Yes, sir; here in this city, in the harbor of Baltimore, in

Delaware, &c. I have not had anything to do with Harper's Ferry. The troops were ordered there independent of my agency; but I believe they were very necessary, and I would have ordered them there if the application had been made to me. I should have gone to the President, of course, for his approbation.

Question. You have recently had a very large demand made upon you for men and officers for frontier service, protection against Indians, and for the protection of the public property in various quarters of the Union?

Answer. Yes, sir; and I was opposed to stripping the seaboard so extensively of troops as it has been stripped of them. I did not think it was necessary. It was done against my views of expediency. I think there were more troops sent to Texas and New Mexico than were needed there.

Question. Notwithstanding this great demand for troops for the protection of the forts and for the protection of the frontiers, you still have considered the need so imminent here as to draw off eight companies of regulars, besides two hundred marines, to protect the property of the government here?

Answer. These troops were not drawn off from any exposed frontiers. Fort Leavenworth is an interior post. I am very confident Texas could spare two regiments, and I think New Mexico could spare one regiment, and have sufficient force left for the defence of the frontiers.

Question. Then none of the frontiers, or elsewhere, have suffered from bringing troops here?

Answer. I have not brought any troops here from the frontiers.

Question. You have brought some from the seaboard?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And some from Leavenworth, Kansas?

Answer. I have brought three companies from Kansas. They are not needed there. One company has been brought from Plattsburg, in the State of New York. A company that was driven out of the arsenal at Baton Rouge will be here; it has reached New York, and will be here in a very few days. A company from the arsenal at Augusta, Georgia, is now on the ocean, and will be in New York in a day or two. It was driven out of the arsenal at Augusta, and will be here some time next week; and we bring two companies from West Point, making eight companies in all. One company from Boston harbor has gone to the Tortugas.

Question. Have you, under the direction of the War Department, or otherwise, ordered a military escort of any description to accompany the President elect to this city, on or before the 4th of March next?

Answer. No, sir. I saw myself reported the other day to have done something of the kind. But I have had no more agency in such a thing than you have had. I heard that some democratic gentlemen of Baltimore—none but democrats, some twenty of them—had united together and agreed to offer their services to meet the President elect and escort him here. That plan was attributed to me, but I had no more agency in it than the infant born last night.

Question. You have too much confidence in your fellow-citizens to believe that such a thing is necessary?

Answer. No, sir; I did not say that. I have received a great number of warning letters from Virginia, and a great number came from the line between Wheeling and Baltimore.

Question. Then you think if the conspiracy exists, it is stronger in Pennsylvania than elsewhere?

Answer. No, sir; that route is mostly in Maryland—in small part in Virginia and Pennsylvania. I have had more letters from along that line or road than from almost any one State.

Question. If Congress were to request it, do you think that you could organize a volunteer force in the District of Columbia, without going outside of it, sufficient to make the government, and Congress, and public property here secure, and so as to enable you to send off the regular troops of the army which have been concentrated here?

Answer. I think not.

Question. You think not?

Answer. I should be afraid to risk it myself.

Question. And you have based that opinion on the letters of which you have spoken to the committee?

Answer. Yes, sir; and hearsay; a great deal of hearsay about the District. I have very few letters from the District; not more than one or two; my knowledge is mostly from hearsay.

Question. Does this hearsay come from any persons known to you to be responsible and discreet persons?

Answer. They are persons I meet in society, as respectable as any of my acquaintance. I cannot name any distinguished individuals, no members of Congress, but persons here in the District of Columbia, and apparently as respectable as anybody here. Indeed, I know many of them to be quite respectable.

Question. Do they give you facts upon which they base their opinion, or only vague, undefined fears?

Answer. I think they have not given me any specific facts, but a great many speak of the District of Columbia as doubtful.

Question. A large portion of these letters, you say, come from the north?

Answer. I do not think half of them come from the north.

Question. Do you think one-third come from the north?

Answer. I think that, including Maryland, fully one-third come from the north.

Question. I see one here [taking up a letter] from Middletown, Connecticut.

Answer. A portion came from New England, but very few. That is one which I received this morning. I do not think I have read it.

Question. Do you think the ramifications of this conspiracy, if it exists, extend to New England, or beyond the city of New York?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Do you know any facts upon which you base your belief of its existence in the city of New York?

Answer. Letters from there say there is a pretty extensive branch there. For instance, I was called upon, within ten days, to protect

one of the forts in the harbor of New York. Some four or five years ago we turned over to the Navy Department one of the small islands in the harbor of New York, to be used as a powder magazine, and the quantity of powder stored there is enormous. I have received information, within seven or eight days, that there was a plan for robbing that magazine of powder, and a guard was asked for. I did not examine far into the matter, because I replied that it now belonged to the Navy Department, and was no longer in the charge of the army; and I did nothing in the matter. I presume the Navy Department did something.

Question. You do not know what steps were taken?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. But it was alleged that that arsenal would be seized by persons in the city of New York?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. For what purpose?—as a part of this same general conspiracy for the overthrow of the government?

Answer. For the use of the south. I do not know that it was for the overthrow of the government. Perhaps for the use of the seceding States. I did not investigate it at all, because I replied that it did not belong to the army branch of the service.

Question. You do not know what steps were taken to protect it?

Answer. I do not. I promptly replied that it did not pertain to us; that it must go to the Navy Department. I know it was taken over to the Navy Department.

Question. Do you know whether there is in the possession of the Secretary of War any information other than these letters you have taken to him?

Answer. I think he has received a great many letters of the same character—as has the President.

Question. Some anonymous and some signed?

Answer. Yes, sir; I heard the President read one. I think it was an anonymous letter; and he commented upon it. I was with the President yesterday, and that was the reason I did not obey your summons. We were there until quite late—various members of the cabinet; and during that meeting this subject was incidentally referred to. The President read a letter which he himself had received, pretty much of the same character with those I had received.

Question. Signed by a name or anonymous?

Answer. I cannot say. My impression at first was that it was anonymous, but now I think it was not. I rather think I heard him say he knew the writer.

Question. Did the writer give facts and details of the plan of the conspiracy, and its object?

Answer. I do not think he was very specific. I read daily from three to nine such letters, and having a great deal to do I cannot keep them distinct in my mind. I can only give you the general impression they make upon my mind.

At the request of Mr. Branch the reporter of the committee read the following extract from the Washington correspondence of the New

York Herald, as published in that paper on Monday, the 28th of January, 1861 :

“The most intense excitement exists in certain congressional circles in consequence of the fact leaking out that the Howard select committee of the House have positive evidence before them of a conspiracy existing in this city and vicinity to overthrow the government, in which certain prominent officials and citizens in Washington and elsewhere figure. Decisive action will be taken in relation to the matter, and every man, from ex-cabinet officers down to the humblest department clerk or Senate employé, will be held to the strictest account. In this emergency it is gratifying to know that, while there may be many citizens in Maryland who, when they can honorably do it, if they cannot consistently remain in the Union, will go out, have determined that while they do remain in it they will be loyal citizens, and when they go out they will not do so dishonorably. The existence of the conspiracy has been known to certain officials in Washington for some time.”

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. The question I want to base upon that extract is this : Is the general character of the letters you have received such as might have been excited by the writers' reading statements of that description in the public papers? Might they have originated from alarms excited by such statements as that?

Answer. I think they are independent of such extracts, because I have been receiving these letters for four weeks. They begin to thicken now very much ; but I received these letters four weeks ago. Indeed, I think I received the first before the 20th of December.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Have you been disposed or influenced, do you suppose, to treat these matters very seriously because of the fact that a large amount of the public property has been seized in other sections—more influenced than you would have been in ordinary times? Have you given more weight to these letters in consequence of the knowledge of the fact that the public property has already been seized on a large scale?

Answer. I think, very little, if any. Indeed, I am not conscious of having been so influenced.

Question. In all this correspondence have you received any intimations from any constituted State authorities in any State? Has any governor or State officer suggested that you should be vigilant, or that there was danger, even in general terms?

Answer. Yes, sir ; from one governor, and I think but one. I am not acquainted with him personally, but he has expressed, in at least one letter, grave apprehensions of danger to this capital.

Question. Was that recently?

Answer. Within fifteen days, certainly ; perhaps within ten.

Question. Did he make any suggestions as to the amount of force that he thought you ought to have?

Answer. I think he did ; recommended a large force ; but I will not be positive about that.

Question. Was he at all specific ?

Answer. I received two letters from him. In one of those letters he stated that there was quite a body of volunteers within his State that would be ready to obey any call. And I replied, and begged that applications upon that subject might be made to the Secretary of War, or directly to the President ; that I did not feel myself at liberty to entertain propositions of that sort. I begged him to refer to the Secretary of War, or directly to the President. Any governor of a State would, of course, be authorized to address the President of the United States.

Question. Would you deem it improper to state what governor that was ?

Answer. I would rather not.

Question. Are you personally acquainted with him ?

Answer. I am not ; I never saw him that I know of.

Question. Was it a northern or southern State ? Or would you decline to answer that question ? I do not care about pressing it.

Answer. One of the middle States ; I should call it a middle State.

Question. Have you received any intimations that there was a conspiracy, on a large or small scale, to commit any bodily injury upon yourself ?

Answer. I have got some anonymous letters, and one that appeared to have a genuine signature ; but I never thought it worth while to speak of it.

Question. Did you get intimations through friends, within the last three days, that there were persons here in the city for the express purpose of assassinating you ?

Answer. To seize me, I think it was.

Question. Or dispose of you in some way ?

Answer. To seize me ; make me a prisoner. I received one letter, purporting to have a genuine signature, threatening assassination to several persons more considerable than myself, and my name was added to the number. A gentleman in this city told me that he had heard a project for making me a prisoner and carrying me off ; not involving assassination, but capturing me. He mentioned it smilingly, and I think I have not mentioned it before. I have a letter written, I forget where, appearing to bear a genuine signature, in which the writer says that before the 4th of March Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Lincoln, and one or two very eminent men in Congress, and myself, will be assassinated ; that we shall not be allowed to survive the 4th of March. I did not think of attaching any importance to it. I have taken no notice of the letter, and do not desire to do so. Mr. Holt, Secretary of War, said to me a few days ago—I think four or five days ago—jocosely : “Are you aware of a plan to seize you, and dispose of you in some way ?” Not a single remark was made in reply, except that I did not think it would be worth the trouble, or something to that effect ; that I did not apprehend any danger. I understood it to be to carry me off.

By Mr. COCHRANE:

Question. The mayor of this city, I understand you to say, expressed his opinion that there was no danger to be apprehended in the District of Columbia. I will ask you this: Did you not understand him to refer to danger arising in the District?

Answer. I did; to danger from his own people.

Question. And his information would be confined to the circle of his observation within the District?

Answer. To the population of the District; I distinctly so understood it.

Question. Your preparations are not made with reference to any danger to be apprehended immediately within and from the District, but from abroad?

Answer. I can say much more to meet dangers from abroad than internal dangers; not dangers from the free States.

Question. And these preparatory measures, I understand, are concerted by yourself and other officers of the government, including the President and the Secretary of War?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And are dictated, therefore, by the common information which you all possessed?

Answer. Yes, sir; entirely so.

Question. If you were to depend entirely upon the militia of the District to resist any apprehended danger, would there be time, without reference to any other considerations, to organize that militia sufficiently to resist that danger, in the interval between this time and the time at which it was to be apprehended?

Answer. Yes, sir; a bill passed by the two Houses of Congress this week would give us any number of volunteers within two days, from Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and the city of New York. In ten days' time we could fill the city with volunteers.

Question. That is in reference to the militia without the District. How would it be with reference to the militia within the District? Could you organize within that interval a sufficient number of them?

Answer. I suppose there may be about four hundred organized and uniformed in the District. But I never directed a solitary inquiry to that subject.

Question. I will ask you your opinion in reference to the militia of the District, in view of the opinion you have expressed of their limited disaffection. What is your opinion of them as a reliable body with which to resist apprehended danger?

Answer. I should doubt, from my slight knowledge of the subject, whether you could get two hundred reliable volunteers within the District. Against a foreign enemy they would be of much greater value. But I think, from the hints that I have heard, and conversations that I have held upon the subject, more than one-half of the militia of this District is disaffected towards the present Union.

Question. Have not your preparations in drafting forces from the army and locating them here, as preparatory to a certain danger,

depended quite as much upon the character of those forces to repel that danger as the number of the forces themselves?

Answer. I regarded the local militia as insufficient to meet any serious danger. If I may be allowed to make a single remark to explain my meaning, there is great danger in employing militia, because you cannot prevent them from firing very improperly; they get agitated, alarmed; all new troops do, even regulars before they are disciplined and have had some experience. You cannot restrain them from firing. Under a shower of brickbats and stones you can rarely prevent militia from firing. You cannot prevent any new troops from doing so, whether you call them regulars or militia. I do not like to deal in important cases with men who cannot be relied upon to stand and wait for orders.

Question. And your preparations with this peculiar force of the army have been dictated by such views as these among others?

Answer. Yes, sir. I can with them, perhaps, go through scenes of extreme peril and not fire a gun or shed a drop of blood; whereas with militia or irregular troops there might be much bloodshed.

Question. And with regular troops there would be less danger than with the militia?

Answer. Yes, sir; there would be great danger with the militia. I do not think the regular troops are naturally braver than the volunteers or militia. Give them discipline, and the volunteers and militia are just as good as our regular troops.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. When you say that you think more than half of the militia of this District are disaffected to the government, do I understand you to mean that more than half of the persons in the District subject to military duty are in favor of a dissolution of the Union?

Answer. I did not mean that. I mean that I have been led to believe that among the organized militia of this District one-half are disaffected—wish to have this government overthrown—would prefer to have it overthrown. The grounds of my belief consist of a number of small particulars.

Question. Are actively engaged in favor of a dissolution of the Union?

Answer. At least would prefer to see the Union dissolved.

Question. You confine your remark to the organized militia?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What would you say about the militia of the District that are not organized?

Answer. I know but little about the militia, and still less about the citizens.

Question. You say that one governor of a State has written to you twice, offering you volunteers, and you referred him to the President and the Secretary of War. I desire to ask that you will communicate to the committee of what State he was governor?

Answer. I would much prefer not to do so.

THURSDAY, *February 7, 1861.*

WINFIELD SCOTT, examination resumed.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. I understand that you desire to make some corrections of your former testimony so far as it relates to some of the letters referred to by you at that time ?

Answer. Yes, sir. When first before the committee, I confounded three letters—one from Nashville, Tennessee, one from Columbia, South Carolina, and one from New York. I was quite indisposed the day I was here ; and as I had received largely, more than one hundred letters, upon the same subject, I suppose I must in that way got those three letters jumbled together in my memory in a manner that has given me a great deal of distress. I have now brought these three letters with me, in order that they may speak for themselves. It was a New York letter that I supposed I had received from Columbia, South Carolina. From the New York letter I had cut out the name of the writer and the name of a person twice mentioned in its body. It was quite important that I should suppress the name. This is the New York letter. [Producing the letter.]

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Was the name signed to this letter a genuine name ?

Answer. Yes, sir, as I have ascertained since I was first here. I have cut out his street and number in New York. He is a very considerable merchant, and one of the most respectable citizens in New York. The handwriting of this New York letter was so remarkable that I had a copy of it made, as I desire to withhold the original. But I have brought the original, in order that it may be seen whether the copy is a correct one. The Columbia letter is of much less importance than I had attributed to it. It is anonymous, and relates to Charleston affairs mainly ; perhaps there is an allusion to something beyond.

I will not again undertake to speak from memory. I am exceedingly mortified at the mistakes I have made. I desired to put myself right upon the record in respect to these letters.

By Mr. COCHRANE :

Question. The letters collectively convey the same meaning that you attributed to them when you were here before, but you erroneously attributed different portions of the information to the wrong letters ?

Answer. I confounded them together. Two of the letters are very specific, the New York letter and the Nashville letter. The Nashville letter is already on your record.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. The New York letter is the one you had confounded with the Columbia letter ?

Answer. It is the one I had attributed to Columbia.

Question. And you have now ascertained, with regard to the New York letter, that the signature is the name of a real person?

Answer. A genuine signature.

Question. Of a man who, in your judgment, is a reliable person?

Answer. I am told by a member of Congress, who is intimately acquainted with him, that he is a man of very high character.

Question. You do not know him personally?

Answer. I do not. It was that name that I had on a slip of paper in my pocket when I was here before.

The letter is as follows :

[Private.]

“NEW YORK, *January* 26, 1861.

“SIR: The plan of the traitors is to take possession of the capital on or about the 5th of February by a *coup de main*, and to hold possession after March 4, when they will be the government *de facto*; and this will be done, unless the force shall be greatly increased which you now have there, and that force made up of reliable men. The present men are not all reliable, and the force is too small to resist what will be brought against the capital. Mr. Buchanan, it is believed, (and said to be known,) will not interfere.”

[The WITNESS. That is unjust.]

“Nearly two weeks since I gave information to Mr. ——— of what the plans then were, and I understand from him that he communicated them to you. By this mail I have written to Mr. ——— again; but the mails have been so uncertain, and the time is so pressingly short, that though I have not the honor of your personal acquaintance, I take the liberty of addressing you directly.

“My information is from the most reliable source. It is only from very peculiar circumstances that I am enabled to get the truth, and my sense of duty leads me to communicate it to you.

“I must ask, however, that my name be kept strictly private, excepting from Mr. ———, who knows the facts from me. My present safety demands this privacy, and the probability of getting further information equally requires the same course.

“Details could be added, but they are entirely unimportant.

“Your obedient servant.

“Lieutenant General W. SCOTT.”

The letter from Columbia is as follows :

“COLUMBIA, *January* 24, 1861.

“DEAR SIR: Having just returned from Charleston from a visit of two weeks, and thinking you would like to be posted up, came to the conclusion to write you a few lines, and give you the points. The head ones of this State expect to demand of Major Anderson, Fort Sumter, and if he refuses to give it up, they are making preparations to take it, or try to do so in about ten days from this time, or as soon as they get fixed. The guns at Fort Moultrie are all up. They have

another battery about two miles further down on the island with five 24-pounders. They have command of Mofat's channel, fifteen guns at Morris island, and about twenty at Fort Johnston, some of them heavy, also Fort Pickens [Pinckney?] They have just received four 64-pounders from Richmond or some other place, and are making gun carriages for them at the South Carolina railroad shops. These guns are to be placed in boats to be towed in the rear of Fort Sumter. They are to be placed behind cotton bales. They are fixing boats for the troops to land at the fort after they have knocked a hole in the wall. At this time there is two thousand troops from the up country on the island, and ten thousand will be ready in the country in five days to go down. And unless the fort is given up they will certainly try and take it. The people think if Anderson remains in the fort they will be disgraced. They don't think Anderson would fire on them, but will give it up. Any quantity of shot and shell has been received in Charleston. The people of this State are down on you, and no mistake but what they would handle you as rough as they would Seward if they could get hold of you. Shall have to direct this to some one else for fear you would not get it. What I have written you can depend upon. I tell you that this State is bound to have that fort if it cost five hundred men. The United States officers that have got appointments, most of them are dissatisfied, not appointed *high enough*. Some have resigned, and others are going to do the same. Nothing more at this time. Would give my name, but if found out would have to *swing*.

"I remain yours,

"UNION.

"General WINFIELD SCOTT."

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Do you regard these three letters which you have placed before the committee as the most pointed and distinct that you have received—the most worthy of notice?

Answer. They are fully as much so as the others. I have sent to Baltimore two letters, which I have received since I was here last, to learn whether the signatures were genuine, and to learn the character of the writers; taking the hint from something that was said here when I was last before the committee. They have not yet been returned to me. They are fully as specific, and relate to matters at least as important as the Nashville letter and the New York letter. They were sent to Baltimore some three days since, and I expected them back before this.

The CHAIRMAN. While we would be very glad, general, and desire to have any fact, any additional important information that you can give the committee, we wish you to judge as to the propriety of communicating anything you may have. That is to say, we do not wish you to communicate anything that would tend to defeat the very objects you have in view. But anything that would not come within that rule you can state in addition to what you have already communicated.

The WITNESS. I have slightly misrepresented a letter of which I

spoke the other day ; that misrepresentation I wish to correct. I stated on a former occasion, under cross-examination, that one of the letters addressed to me by a governor of a State referred to what is called a conspiracy merely as something whose existence was recognized, not as anything that he himself pretended to have any knowledge of ; I stated something to that effect. In looking over one of his letters I find that he went further than that.* In the conclusion of one of his notes to me he says that "a scheme to defeat the counting I know has been and I fear still is contemplated." I stated, speaking from memory, that there was nothing of that character in his letters. The sentence here seems to be incomplete. "A scheme to defeat the counting ;" probably he meant the counting of the ballots for President and Vice-President. "A scheme to defeat the counting I know has been and I fear still is contemplated."

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. You then stated from memory, but now you have the letter before you ?

Answer. I have the letter before me. I had no papers with me when here last, except the letters I received that morning, and one or two others that happened accidentally to be in my possession then. The bulk of the papers were at my office. When here before I read a copy or abstract of a letter, and I was asked to obtain the original. This is the original. [Producing the letter referred to.]

The letter is as follows :

"NEW YORK, *January 29, 1861.*

"DEAR SIR : The importance of your being informed of facts relative to the conspiracy to seize Washington is the cause why I presume a second time to write you.

"The leaders say that secession is dead without Washington city ; and it is still their intention to get possession of Washington by the 4th of March next, *if possible*. I will endeavor briefly to show you their present plan, for your energy and vigilance have caused considerable modification of their schemes.

"Great reliance is placed upon the clerks in the public offices in Washington. As long ago as June, 1860, they were *sounded*, and subsequently sworn to keep secret what they might learn for effecting the seizure of the Capitol. Young men and others in military companies north are now being tampered with by promises and money, and when solemnly sworn are partially informed of the business at Washington. Those at the capital who are able, and others friendly to the cause, are now asked to quietly accommodate one or two, or more men in their houses for a short time next month. These men will arrive from the north and south by railroad quietly and unostentatiously. Each will carry his gun, pistol, and some ammunition concealed in his baggage. It is supposed by those well informed that four thousand or perhaps four thousand five hundred determined men can thus be concentrated quietly at Washington. Then, under the leadership of an experienced man, make a concerted surprise some

morning before daylight, and by numbers and suddenness make powerless the military in the neighborhood. Awing the city, and with cannon in their possession, they will have some good practical reasons for thinking that the capital, its archives and treasures, are in their traitorous hands. Immediately the telegraphic wires will be cut, and the railroads leading out of the city torn up for some distance. Perhaps two, and perhaps three days, on account of confederates in Maryland, may transpire before loyal men in the north will be able to do anything more than wonder at the audacity of the attack. These three days will not be wasted. Thousands will march on to Washington from the south, and will contest possession, if needs be, with those who come from the north. The first of those days every prominent public man who is supposed to be opposed to those infernal traitors will be arrested and imprisoned, and some will be punished by death. The lists are now being prepared by the desperate men at the head of this movement, some of whom sit in the Senate chamber. And though I have not seen those lists, nor know how much of the talent and honor of the country are comprised in them, yet I think I am safe in saying that if this *coup d'état* is successful, many an American home will sorrow indeed. The new confederacy will be proclaimed, with Breckinridge or Davis as President.

"The day upon which this surprise is to be made is not yet settled. It was proposed to take place the second week in February; but as the President elect will not be there then, fears are entertained of its complete success on that day. My opinion is, that *Sunday, 3d March, at 3.30 in the morning*, will be appointed. The date is to be decided this week.

"There is a good deal of sanguine feeling of success entertained by the men who are to lead this attempt. One principal reason is that high officials in Washington—men who are a shame to the nation, who know the truth of what I have written, and are to be benefited by it—deny it strenuously, and pooh! pooh! it, and say that there is nothing in it, so as to leave the city an easy prey, and put off good, true men, like yourself, if they could, from doing anything that will render such an attempt impossible. But you have baffled these men a great deal. God help you to baffle these men still more! If you would entirely destroy their hopes you must do more. Could you hear how eagerly they wish that you would do no more, (for everything already done is weighed and calculated so that they may overcome it by their suddenness,) you would not rely upon a few hundred troops and a tampered militia to keep back these men from placing a black page of dishonor in our country's history.

"What more to do? Permit me to write—

"1. To proclaim martial law immediately in the District of Columbia.

"2. To make every official in Washington publicly, and with great solemnity, take again the oath of allegiance to the United States; those who refuse or wince should be dismissed at once, and note taken of them.

"3. To do the same with the militia of the District.

"4. To call for 30,000 or 50,000 men at once from the northern

States to occupy Washington till the next administration is thoroughly installed. The *elite* of the northern militia will respond. Then, and not till then, will the attack be hopelessly given up.

"5. Through Governor Hicks, of Maryland, get Baltimore special police appointed, and have militia ready for any emergency.

"These are extreme measures, particularly the first and fourth. But I assure you, general, that they are necessary in this moment of peril, and I would to God that I could convince you of their importance. I know what apathy you have to contend with in high places in Washington, but that is a part of the scheme. I know many civic men say that such measures are unnecessary, but they have private reasons for inaction. Do not let them deter you. Run not the imminent risk of subverting this government, and bringing eternal disgrace upon the nation. What you have done still tempts a conflict, and the measures proposed, adopted quickly and simultaneously, can only break the mad intention.

"At some risk I have done my duty to communicate the subject-matter of this note so that you might take proper action. The note of Friday might have been sufficient; but as the attempt is considered impossible by so many, I thought, for your special benefit, it was better to write again more fully.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

" J. H.

"Major General SCOTT, *Washington.*"

The WITNESS. I have a great many letters here, some which I had received a day or two before I was here last; and as many more which I have received since. I do not know whether to present them or not. They all bear more or less upon the subject. They are at the service of the committee if they are deemed important.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Are they substantially of the same general tenor as the others?

Answer. Of the same general tenor. They are dated at different places. You have a New York letter and a Nashville letter. Here is a letter from West River, Maryland; a letter from St. Louis; a letter from New York, dated January 28, in relation to the danger of the Capitol.

Question. Is that New York letter from the same writer as the other?

Answer. No, sir; I have no other letter from that person. Here is a letter from Virginia, to the effect that the mass of the people of Virginia are loyal; but that vigilance should not be relaxed at the Capitol. Signed by initials, not by a full name.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Are any of these letters signed by the names of the writers?

Answer. A few. Here is a letter from New York, from a person who signs himself "A Patriot." It is rather long, and contains very

much the same kind of information, some conjectures, and some assertions of facts apparently within the knowledge of the writer.

Question. Are any of them signed by names that you know to be genuine?

Answer. I do not know a single name; I have only ascertained since I was here that the name of the New York letter first read here to-day is genuine.

Question. Those you now have are all of the same general tenor as the other letters?

Answer. Yes, sir; the two that I sent to Baltimore are very specific, and give many details; indeed they give the names of persons and leaders.

Question. Have they genuine names signed to them?

Answer. I cannot say; I sent them off as soon as I read them.

Mr. BRANCH. I suppose it is hardly necessary to spread the balance of these letters upon the record.

The WITNESS. They are from very different quarters; from Reading, Pennsylvania; from New York; and from Baltimore, among other places.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the statement that the witness has these letters, and that they are generally upon the same subject, and are of the same purport as the others, might go on the record, but nothing further, unless the witness deems it important. I do not see any good purpose that could be subserved by printing them in our minutes, unless some question should be raised about them.

The WITNESS. Here is an anonymous letter I received yesterday; and here is another in reference to a plan to poison the artillery horses at this place; two or three threats to kill myself, which I do not think much of.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. What is the date of the letter from the governor of a State from which you just read a sentence?

Answer. It is dated January 31, 1861, the very day I was last here before the committee.

Mr. BRANCH. I would state to the committee that I would like to ask the general for the name of that governor.

The WITNESS. When I was before the committee in the first instance, I hesitated about giving the name; I did not reflect that that letter was written to me for the eye of the Executive; that in fact it ought to have been addressed to the Executive. It must have been addressed to me as a mere matter of convenience—to me as the agent and subordinate of the Executive. And since that reflection, I have come to the conclusion that it might be very improper for me to give up the letter.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. You consider it rather Mr. Buchanan's letter than your own?

Answer. It is a letter that belongs rather to the Executive than

myself. It is written to me as an agent or a subordinate of the Executive ; therefore I do not feel myself at liberty to give it up.

Mr. BRANCH. I will defer to the general's discretion in the matter. If he thinks it would be improper to give it up, I will not press it.

The WITNESS. When I was here before I stated that I had received but two letters from the governor to which I refer. I believed I had received but two then ; but I have received one since ; making three in all. I have consulted with one individual only, not the President, a very eminent lawyer and statesman, and he gave me the view of this subject which I have stated, and I concurred with him—I mean in reference to giving up this letter of the governor of a State. If the committee had insisted upon it before, I should have asked the President's permission. But as it was not insisted upon, I have not asked his permission yet.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Was it the letter from which you read the extract this morning which you say you have received since you were here before ?

Answer. It was dated January 31, and I find now that I was here on that day. Consequently, I could not have received it when I was first here.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Then the statement you made about the letter at that time was correct ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. You had previously to that time received two from that same person ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Do you think the purport and meaning of those two letters are correctly described in the testimony you gave on the former occasion ?

Answer. I think so ; I do not know any material discrepancy.

Mr. BRANCH. After the statement the general has made, I will not press the inquiry on him, but leave it to his discretion.

The WITNESS. I had thought of going to the President this morning before coming here, but I had not time ; in case the committee should insist on obtaining his permission, considering myself as the agent—a subordinate in this matter—I would mention the subject to the President.

Do the committee consider the two letters which I have sent to Baltimore of sufficient importance to be received by the committee ? They are very specific. They are not signed by real names, I think.

Mr. BRANCH. I think it will be well to leave that matter to the discretion of the general. If he thinks they are of sufficient importance he can furnish them to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. (To witness.) We will leave that entirely to your discretion, to do as you may think best.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. There is one question I desire to ask in reference to the letter from New York of the 26th of January. The writer says, referring to the force you now have in this city—"the present men are not all reliable." Have you any reason to suspect the fidelity of the regular troops you now have here?

Answer. Not one of them?

Question. You think them entirely reliable in the defence of the government?

Answer. Entirely so.

Question. You do not know upon what grounds this writer referred to them in that way?

Answer. I imagine he alludes to the volunteers, the militia of the city; I rather think so. The officers with me have no politics; scarcely one of them have any party sentiments. They are all very much devoted to the Union.

I have read over my recorded testimony taken by the committee of five, of which the Hon. Mr. Howard is chairman, appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate certain matters, and find the record substantially correct.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

No. 12.

THURSDAY, *January 31, 1861.*

WILLIAM FLINN sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Do you reside in this city?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You are a government officer here?

Answer. I am the navy agent here.

Question. Do you know of any sort of conspiracy or combination, secret or otherwise, that has for its object, in any event, an attack upon any portion of the public property here, such as the navy yard or arsenal?

Answer. Only what I have seen in the newspapers.

Question. You have no knowledge of such a thing?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. And you have never heard any persons talk as though they had such information?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Or as though they had such knowledge?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Just these sensation articles?

Answer. Yes, sir; sensation articles in the New York papers and elsewhere.

Question. Are you connected with any military company here?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. What are the duties of the navy agent here?

Answer. I pay all the bills for supplies for the Washington city navy yard.

Question. You are not charged at all with the protection of the property?

Answer. No, sir; Captain F. Buchanan is commandant of the yard. Mr. McNerhany is the naval storekeeper.

Question. Have you ever heard any persons say that they intended to seize the Capitol, or that they believed it would be seized by unlawful means?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Or that they knew it was going to be done by others?

Answer. Only in the newspapers. I have never heard persons connected with the administration say so.

Question. Any other persons?

Answer. I have heard irresponsible boys talk so.

Question. More whiskey than men?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What are your particular duties?

Answer. I pay the bills for supplies for the yard, the bills for travelling allowances of officers of the navy, and bills ordered by the Secretary of the Navy.

Question. What I mean is, were you connected with the safety of the yard, and have you been put on your guard?

Answer. No, sir.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. Have these articles you have observed in the newspapers led you to make any inquiries?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you communicated with the President, or any one, upon the subject, whether there was any foundation for these articles in the papers?

Answer. No, sir; I never called the attention of the President to any articles in the newspapers. He has been so very much engaged since this Congress met, that I did not intrude upon his time about them.

Question. Have you communicated with him upon this subject at all?

Answer. I was in the President's office one day when there was an open audience. The President remarked upon some speculation about seizing the Capitol; and I remarked to the President that I thought the flying artillery was about the best preventive of that.

Question. Have you had any communication with the Secretary of the Navy about it?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Or with any of the constituted authorities of the city government?

Answer. No, sir; I have confined myself entirely to my business. I have been very busy since this Congress met.

Question. I did not know but what the rumors that you read in the papers might have led you to make some investigation or inquiry.

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Do you know any of the members of the National Volunteers?

Answer. I know Dr. Boyle; I have seen his name in the city newspapers in connexion with that.

Question. What position does he hold in that organization?

Answer. He is published in the newspapers as captain; Dr. Boyle is a very respectable citizen—one of the oldest citizens in the District, and a property-holder.

Question. Have you observed in the newspapers a resolution passed by that organization as to what they contemplated doing?

Answer. I heard that some were published; I did not read them.

Question. Did you learn the purport of them?

Answer. I could send you the paper containing the resolutions. But I cannot quote from the resolutions, as I have not read them.

Question. I did not know but what you might have learned the purport of the resolutions.

Answer. I heard of them, but did not read them.

Question. Did you learn the purport of them?

Answer. I heard common street talk that it was their purpose, if the black republican Wide-awake mobs came here from the north, to oppose them.

Question. Come here when; at any particular time?

Answer. Previous to the inauguration.

Question. Oppose them by force?

Answer. If they commenced to interfere with the southern people, or to coerce the southern people, they would oppose them.

Question. Was that the purport of the resolutions?

Answer. I do not know; that is merely what I heard.

Question. You had heard that they resolved to interfere if the black republican Wide-awakes came here?

Answer. If they threatened to coerce the southern people—to march south.

Question. Previous to the inauguration?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. I wish you would be a little more specific, if you can, as to what was the purport of the resolutions.

Answer. That was only street talk. I did not hear it from any responsible person. A man is not bound to take street talk for authority.

Question. Did you inquire of Dr. Boyle, or anybody, about it?

Answer. No, sir; I never heard Dr. Boyle say anything upon the subject.

Question. Or any member of the National Volunteers?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you heard any desire, or wish, or intention, on the part of anybody here, or any organization, to interfere with the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Or with any pageant that might be got up on the occasion of the inauguration?

Answer. No, sir; I have not.

Question. What interference with the people here was expected or apprehended from the black republican Wide-awakes from the north?

Answer. I have not heard of any. I only said that if the Wide-awakes came here and threatened to coerce the southern people, to go south.

Question. Was there any apprehension that they would come here for any such purpose?

Answer. Well, I do not understand your question.

Question. Are you aware that any apprehensions exist in this community?

Answer. The only apprehensions that exist are in consequence of certain speeches made in the Senate and House of Representatives; in the Senate by Mr. Wade and Mr. Trumbull.

Question. And from the speeches of Mr. Wade and Mr. Trumbull in the Senate was it apprehended that there was any intention of the Wide-awakes coming here to interfere?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. It does not now occur to me what part of the speeches you refer to; but no matter about that. Has the apprehension got abroad here that there is an intention with the north to come here and interfere with anybody's rights?

Answer. Only from the speeches made in the Senate.

Question. From no other source except that?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Do you apprehend that there is a determination here to oppose the presence of the Wide-awakes, or any other association?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. What did you mean, then, by the apprehension that the black republican Wide-awakes would come here to coerce the south?

Answer. I supposed this would be in a southern State, if Maryland went out with the rest.

Question. You supposed the black republican Wide-awakes of the north would come here to coerce them?

Answer. Not coerce them at Washington, but go south to coerce them.

Question. You do not mean, then, that there was any idea they would come here to coerce them?

Answer. It is only a prospective idea.

Question. Is there any apprehension in this community, do you suppose, of the presence of any organization from the north coming here to interfere with anybody in the District.

Answer. I do not know of any.

Question. What do you understand to be the purpose of this organization of National Volunteers?

Answer. I do not know anything about their objects; I did not attend any of their meetings?

Question. What did you gather from what you were informed upon the subject of the resolutions?

Answer. The resolutions were published. I have not read them. I can send you a copy of the paper containing them, and you can draw your own inference?

Question. Do not trouble yourself to do that, for we have them. I only wanted to know what your inference was about them, and what you inferred was the intention of this body of men called the National Volunteers in adopting such resolutions?

Answer. They are responsible for their own resolutions.

Question. Of course, I do not think that you are responsible for them at all; I am gathering, if I can, the inference which you drew from the action of this body of men as manifested by their own resolutions; that is all.

Answer. I heard they did not say in their resolutions that they would resist the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln.

Question. I wanted to know what you inferred was their purpose in adopting those resolutions?

Answer. I inferred, from what I heard, that their purpose was to put down any outbreak here; but what was to be the nature of the outbreak I cannot say. You know there has been mob rule in Baltimore city for several years, and there has been some of it here.

Question. Did you understand the resolutions to relate to any anticipated outbreak in this city?

Answer. I have not read the resolutions.

Question. Did you infer from what you had heard of them that they related to any contemplated action of the corps growing out of a disturbance of the peace of this city?

Answer. I have not attended their meetings, and have not read the resolutions.

Question. That is already obvious from your answers heretofore. I beg you to answer my question; and that is, what was your inference from what has been communicated to you of the resolutions. That it had reference to an apprehension of an outbreak merely against the peace of the city?

Answer. Let me hear your question again.

Question. Did you infer, from what was communicated to you of the resolutions, that they expressed the determination of the corps merely to co-operate with the city authorities in keeping the peace of the city against mobs?

Answer. I think that is their object.

Question. Such mobs as have heretofore existed here and in Baltimore?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You think that was the length and breadth of them.

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And that they contemplated nothing more?

Answer. That is my opinion, except coercion of the south is attempted.

Question. Do you think these particular mobs depended upon the secession of any particular State, or anything of the kind?

Answer. Well, I do not believe they did.

Question. Then, if the resolutions pointed out any particular course

of action contingent upon the secession of any State, what ground had you to infer that the resolutions had reference to such mobs as had heretofore existed at a time when the question of secession was not mooted?

Answer. I do not understand your interrogatory.

Question. What led you to infer that the resolutions had reference solely to such mobs as had heretofore existed in this city and in Baltimore, when the resolutions contemplated a course of action dependent upon the secession of certain States?

Answer. All I know is just from street talk; I told you from the start that I had not attended one of their meetings; I did not sympathize with them.

Question. I did not inquire as to your means of information, but why you drew an inference of that character from a particular state of facts. I asked you why you were led to believe that they had reference solely to such mobs as heretofore existed in this city and Baltimore, when it depended upon the secession of particular States?

Answer. I told you from the start that if the Wide-awakes from the north came here and threatened to coerce the south, these volunteers would stand up for the south. I stated that.

Question. What you and I both said heretofore I am not inquiring about; but why you drew such an inference as that from the resolutions?

Answer. I told you I had not read the resolutions; that what I had said was on street rumors.

Mr. DAWES. I cannot compel you, of course, to answer my question.

The WITNESS. I answered you as a gentleman, and I expect to be treated as a gentleman.

Mr. DAWES. I will endeavor to treat you as a gentleman; but I claim the right to ask such questions as I desire.

The WITNESS. I have answered you and told you promptly all I know about the matter.

Mr. DAWES. I want you to conform to your position as a witness.

The WITNESS. I have told you all I know from hearsay.

The CHAIRMAN here interposed, and asked to have the question stated to the committee.

Mr. DAWES. The question is, upon what ground he inferred that the contemplated action of the National Volunteers had reference to such mobs as heretofore existed in this city and Baltimore, when the action itself depended upon the course that certain States should take in seceding.

The WITNESS (to Mr. Dawes.) I have told you distinctly that I had heard that the object of this National Volunteer organization was, if the Wide-awakes of the north came here and threatened the southern States, then they would stand up for the south.

The CHAIRMAN. That is hardly responsive to the question.

The WITNESS. I can say no more.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been repeated several times.

The WITNESS. I was not a member of the "National Volunteer" organization. I said it was mere street rumors.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand the point of the question to be this,

and if you feel any embarrassment about making any other answer, if the one you have made is not satisfactory to the member of the committee who put the question, I will submit to the committee whether it is a proper question. I understand that which prompts the question is this: you had stated in a general way that you supposed it was the purpose——

The WITNESS. I did not suppose anything about it. I said it was a mere street rumor. I never conversed with a member of that organization about their object or anything of the kind.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will allow me to state the point. You had stated that you had inferred, perhaps from what you had heard——

The WITNESS. I inferred nothing about it.

Mr. BRANCH. The witness will allow the chairman to state what he means.

The CHAIRMAN. The inference that I stated was merely upon street talk. I do not mean to represent that you had any inference based upon anything other than what you stated; there is no trouble about that. Your impression from street rumors and what you had heard said about the resolutions, which you distinctly said you had not read——

The WITNESS. I will correct you. I have had no impression about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, whatever you did say about it with reference to what you had heard said.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; merely street rumors.

The CHAIRMAN. You supposed that their object was to aid in keeping down mobs, just as mobs had been kept down heretofore in this city and in Baltimore?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was all very well. In another part of your examination you seemed to have the impression or inference, from these same street rumors, these same vague rumors, that in case the Wide-awake mobs came here to coerce the south the National Volunteers would take part with the south.

The WITNESS. I said "march to the south."

The CHAIRMAN. And the drift of the question was for you to explain what you meant by these two things; having expressed your idea that they were to put down mobs of the ordinary character, the question was how these two things were to be reconciled?

The WITNESS. It would be the same as a mob of Know-nothings heretofore.

The CHAIRMAN. No matter who got up the mobs; they were ordinary mobs that pertain to the city, the ordinary rabble, and it seems to me that the question is proper, with a view to give you an opportunity to reconcile the two ideas.

The WITNESS. I have answered it to the best of my ability.

Mr. DAWES. I put the question as I am in the habit of putting them, and as I think I had a right to do.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps this difficulty arose in part from pursuing the examination in a pretty extended way, in explanation of a remark that was stated to be based upon rumor. Still it strikes me that the question was competent in that point of view.

The WITNESS. I know some of the gentlemen whose names have been published in connexion with these National Volunteers who are highly respectable gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. No doubt about that.

The WITNESS. And I believe as good citizens as we are.

Mr. DAWES. If the committee think the question is a proper one, I would like an answer to it. I do not wish to consume the time of the committee, nor do I wish anybody but the committee to prescribe such questions as I shall put.

The CHAIRMAN. It struck me that the question itself was competent; and it struck me also that the disposition of the witness was to answer it; but whether his language conveyed an answer or not is, perhaps, doubtful.

The WITNESS. I gave all the answer I could.

The witness was requested to retire from the room, which he did.

After consultation on the part of the committee, the witness was recalled.

The CHAIRMAN (to witness.) This whole difficulty seems to have arisen from a misapprehension. for I do not think there is any member of this committee that has the slightest fault to find with you, and the disposition to answer fully and fairly that you have exhibited from the first. We still think the question, whether susceptible of a full answer or not, was competent. Therefore the clerk will read over the question to you, and you will answer it just as fully as it occurs to you, or leave it as it is now, as it is not a very important matter any way.

The clerk read as follows from his short-hand notes:

"The question is, upon what ground he (the witness) inferred that the contemplated action of the National Volunteers had reference to such mobs as heretofore existed in this city and in Baltimore, when the action itself is dependent upon the course that certain States should take in seceding?"

The WITNESS. I stated this: that if the Wide awakes came from the north—and of course it is common talk that the Wide-awakes were coming here. I do not know that they are coming; it is only the common talk.

The CHAIRMAN. All based upon rumors.

The WITNESS. Rumors and sensation articles in newspapers. I stated that if the Wide-awakes came from the north and threatened to coerce the south, and threatened to march south to coerce the southern States, these "National Volunteers" would stand up for the south.

The CHAIRMAN. That in one case it would be one thing, and in another case it would be another thing.

The WITNESS. Some of these National Volunteers are citizens of Washington, are property-holders here. I have not read the resolutions, or attended their meetings. I know of no organization that would interrupt the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. COCHRANE. Do you not mean that you heard that they will abide by and defend the south; and if men come from the north to menace them, they will attack them.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir ; that is my inference ; they will defend the south if attacked.

No. 13.

THURSDAY, *January 31, 1861.*

JACOB THOMPSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. The single point of inquiry that we have is this : a resolution was referred to this committee last Saturday, prompted, I suppose, by those ten thousand rumors that are afloat, and which may do mischief, if ever so false, and which will certainly do mischief if true ; and the object is to get some accurate information about their falsity or truth, as the case may be. The single point is this : whether, from your long connexion with the city here, and your official position, or otherwise, you know of the existence of any organization that has for its object an attack upon any of the public property here ?

Answer. I will have to answer that question directly, that I know of none whatever ; and, so far as my knowledge goes, I believe there is none in existence.

Question. Neither secret nor otherwise ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; so far as my knowledge extends ; of course my answer means secret or otherwise.

Question. And has not been at any time during all this excitement ?

Answer. Not to my knowledge.

Question. Or belief ?

Answer. Or belief that such an organization was ever formed.

Question. Did you, soon after the election, hear various persons express themselves upon the subject of in some way or other preventing the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln ; and if so, how, or in what mode ?

Answer. Soon after the presidential election it was a question frequently discussed by individuals in my presence, in which discussions I participated, as to the mode by which the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln could be defeated, or, in other words, how the rights of the south could be maintained in the Union. Some proposed that it should be done through the agency of Congress, by refusing to count the votes, or by the refusal of the Senate to meet the House of Representatives to count the votes for President and Vice-President. These were mere discussions. I heard some discussion as to organizing a force by which his inauguration could be prevented. As soon, however, as the States separately took up the subject and began to act, and some of them actually seceded, these modes of defeating the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, and all modes of using violence in the matter, have, so far as I know, ceased to be subjects of discussion. I do not believe that force is contemplated, or that either house of Congress contemplates irregular action to defeat the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln.

Question. Or that it would be likely to be interrupted by any force from outside ?

Answer. Or that any force is contemplated to be brought upon the city.

Question. Either in counting the votes or in the inauguration?

Answer. In neither.

Question. I might ask you whether you had any apprehension that, from States or otherwise, there was any danger to the arsenal here, including the arms? They are a kind of public property that is, perhaps, somewhat peculiar, and things that they might want to use. You include the navy yard and the arsenal in your answer to my first question?

Answer. I do not know of any contemplated violence, nor do I apprehend that any will be made, either against the navy yard, arsenal, or Capitol.

Question. Or any of the public buildings?

Answer. Or any of the public buildings.

Question. Or the peace of the city of Washington?

Answer. I do not believe the peace of the city is now, or will be endangered, except from rowdies into whose hands arms may be placed by the authorities.

Question. You have heard, doubtless, at least you have read in the newspapers, probably, about an organization called the "K. G. C.," or Knights of the Golden Circle?

Answer. I know it through the newspapers.

Question. Have you any knowledge as to whether that organization has an existence in this city?

Answer. No, sir; nor have I any knowledge of its existence anywhere, except through the papers.

J. THOMPSON.

No. 14.

THURSDAY, *January 31*, 1861.

CHARLES P. STONE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Do you reside in this city?

Answer. I do.

Question. Are you connected with the army in any way?

Answer. No, sir; I have resigned from the army.

Question. You were formerly an army officer?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Are you at present charged with some duties touching the organization of the militia of this city?

Answer. I have recently been appointed inspector general of the militia.

Question. In your capacity as inspector general, or as a citizen, or otherwise, have you acquired any knowledge touching any organiza-

tion in this city that has for its object an attack upon any of the public property or the peace of the city?

Answer. I have had a vast number of intimations brought to me.

Question. I will confine the first question to actual personal knowledge of the existence of any organization?

Answer. Which I know to have for its object or intention the troubling the public property here?

Question. Yes, sir.

Answer. I have no personal knowledge of any organization whose object I know to be the seizure of the public property or the disturbance of the public peace.

Question. Will you state generally what you mean by having received intimations?

Answer. Remarks made to me by various gentlemen, information brought to me from a great number of sources, and some written communications which have been made to me.

Question. Are those written communications anonymous?

Answer. Some of them I have known from whom they came; there are some anonymous.

Question. That is, if the name was not attached to the letter, you knew from whom it came?

Answer. Yes, sir, I had means of knowing.

Question. Were they generally from persons whom you knew and had confidence in?

Answer. I have had them from those I knew and had confidence in, and I have had them from those I knew nothing about, and knew nothing of their credibility. I might state here, in order to save the time of the committee, that I believe every material fact that has come to my knowledge has been communicated to General Scott; and you will probably have before you, in the examination of General Scott, all the information that I can give the committee.

Question. Then you can give no information to the committee touching these intimations, as you call them—and perhaps that is the best word—beyond what you have communicated to General Scott?

Answer. Everything that I have conceived to be material I have communicated to General Scott.

Question. As my first question related to your positive knowledge in reference to an organization, and as this is an inquiry rather than a demonstration of fact, perhaps it would be proper to ask you whether all these intimations taken together have produced any decided belief in your mind that such an organization does or does not exist? State what your belief is.

Answer. The effect produced on my mind, after all that I have heard, is, that it would certainly be the part of a prudent government to take precautionary measures to protect its public buildings, its archives, seals, &c.

Question. You have some knowledge, I suppose, of a military company here called the National Volunteers?

Answer. As I understand it, it is hardly a military company. I know of an organization called the National Volunteers, and I have heard a great deal about them.

Question. Will you explain what you mean by saying that they are hardly a military company? Do they not drill and have arms?

Answer. I have no information that they have arms. That they drill, I am informed; of my own knowledge, I do not know even that. I have received intimations that they have drill officers appointed for them.

Question. If it is hardly a military organization, what do you understand it to be?

Answer. I have understood that it was originally a political organization. I have understood, also, that its character has been attempted to be changed, at least by some of its members, and perhaps rather a more military tone given to it than it formerly had.

Question. In view of the troubled state of the country?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. It was originally, according to your view, a political organization?

Answer. As I have been informed.

Question. According to your information, it was originally a political organization, perhaps something of the nature of the Wide-awakes.

Answer. Yes, sir, that was my conception of it.

Question. I do not mean that they sympathized with the Wide-awakes at all.

Answer. No, sir; but an association for similar purposes.

Question. In your allusion to a recent attempt to make it more properly a military organization, or to give it a more military character, did you base your remark upon what has appeared in the papers in regard to the resolutions of the association?

Answer. No, sir; I based it upon information brought to me by individuals.

Question. Can you state what the extent of this information is, or rather to what extent they have sought to make it a military organization?

Answer. I have been informed that they have appointed what are called drill sergeants; I have been informed also that they have tried to procure arms; I have been informed that a gentleman in this District had agreed to procure arms for them.

Question. Have you been informed that they entertained purposes of hostility towards this government in any shape?

Answer. I have been so informed; yes, sir, under certain circumstances.

Question. What were those circumstances?

Answer. I have heard various statements. It has been stated to me that they would, for instance, in case of an opportunity, oppose the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln.

Question. What are your sources of information?

Answer. I suppose the committee requested me to state all I had heard about it. I have not heard that in such a distinct manner, and from such a source as would do anything more than make me attempt to take a slight precaution against it. I do not consider it as entirely reliable information.

Question. Very vague.

Answer. Very vague, indeed; exceedingly vague.

Question. Have you read in the papers what purported to be resolutions passed by this company?

Answer. I have.

Question. Have you read them with some attention?

Answer. At the time I did.

Question. Did you attach any importance to them, putting them with all that you knew and had heard about them?

Answer. The most I have heard has been since that time.

Question. And you considered vague whatever information you had received about their entertaining hostile purposes towards the government or the peace of the city?

Answer. Yes, sir; I have been informed that it has been asserted in one of the meetings of that association that there were in this town some 1,500 men who could be depended upon to take this city. Of that much I have been informed.

Question. You have been informed that that was asserted in their meeting?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Can you give the date of that meeting?

Answer. I cannot.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. What is the name of the individual making that assertion?

Answer. It came second-hand to me.

Question. Who told you?

Answer. The person who gave me the information that that assertion was made was Mr. Hanscom.

Question. A newspaper writer here?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Did he tell you his authority?

Answer. He did not give his authority.

Question. Did Mr. Hanscom inform you that he had been in the meeting and heard the assertion made himself?

Answer. No, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Have you any other knowledge or information touching this company that, so far as you can judge, it is important to communicate to this committee?

Answer. I think I have stated the most important matters that I have heard in relation to the organization—the most distinct points. I have had, I presume, a hundred communications made to me concerning the organization. But those that I have stated were the most distinct points. As I understand it, your inquiry only refers to the organization in the District of Columbia.

Mr. BRANCH. We desire also information of any other organization outside of the National Volunteers having for its object hostility to the government.

The CHAIRMAN. It is equally as important that we should know in regard to any other organization, civil or military.

Question. Communicate any information that you have which you deem important touching any organization.

Answer. I have heard that arms were promised to this organization by a connexion of Governor Wise, of Virginia.

Question. A member of the company?

Answer. He has been stated to me as connected with the organization.

Question. Do you get this information from what you deem a reliable source?

Answer. That, like most of the information I have received, came second or third hand to me. And in all these matters I conceived it exceedingly difficult to place reliance upon the reports that come to one's ears.

Question. Will you state who that person was?

Answer. He was stated to be Dr. Garnett, of this city.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Did Dr. Garnett inform you of that?

Answer. No, sir; I was informed, second or third hand, that Dr. Garnett, the son-in-law of Governor Wise, agreed to furnish arms to them. That is the way it comes to me; the same as the other rumors came. I never placed much reliance upon any of these rumors.

CHAS. P. STONE.

No. 15.

THURSDAY, *January 31, 1861.*

BENJAMIN BERRY sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?

Answer. In Montgomery county, Maryland, about thirteen miles from here.

Question. Are you pretty extensively acquainted here in this city?

Answer. I know a great many persons; I cannot say I am very extensively acquainted.

Question. Do you know of any organization in existence in this city having for its object any depredation or attack upon any of the public property of the United States here?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Or in any way interfering with the operations of Congress, or the peace of the city?

Answer. Not at all.

Question. You have no knowledge upon the subject?

Answer. No, sir; I know nothing, or very little, about the organizations in Washington?

Question. You are the captain of a military company in the place where you are resident?

Answer. I have been elected captain.

Question. A company has been regularly organized there?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And it is organized under the regular laws of Maryland?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. A company the members of which hold themselves in readiness to report to the governor or the authorities of Maryland?

Answer. That will depend upon circumstances. We are not liable to the call of the governor at present, of course, under some circumstances.

Question. If you obtain arms at the public expense, you would get them from Maryland?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Is your company an infantry company?

Answer. Yes, sir; we could raise a much larger number of men, and equip them at less expense, as an infantry company than as cavalry.

Question. What were the main objects in organizing the company?

Answer. To protect the interests of slaveholders generally.

Question. At home?

Answer. Yes, sir; and abroad, if necessary.

Question. Had it any sort of reference, so far as you know, to any attack upon this city?

Answer. No, sir; not in its organization. We took Crittenden's resolutions as a basis. They were rejected in Congress, and I do not know what is relied upon now; the country is in such a disturbed condition, waiting for the Congress to do something. The expectation of the whole of Maryland is centred here now upon the conservative spirit of Congress. If they do not do something for them, Heaven only knows where it will end.

Question. You have stated very broadly that your company had no connexion with any organization here?

Answer. None that I know of.

Question. But, as a matter of sentiment, they adopted the Crittenden resolutions?

Answer. Yes, sir; we were satisfied with that, and took it as an ultimatum.

Question. Have they, by any formal action—by the vote of the officers or signers—indicated what they would do in case secession were to become general?

Answer. They are subject to the orders and command of their officers altogether. They look to me for information, and, I believe, as far as I can ascertain, are at my bidding.

Question. Did you apprehend any peculiar danger to the interests of slaveholders in Maryland at this time?

Answer. We not only apprehended it, but we feel its consequences very seriously in the great depreciation of negro property and real estate. I consider that I am worth \$10,000 less to-day than I was this day twelve months ago.

Question. Owing to the depreciation of property?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And you attribute this depreciation mainly to political excitement?

Answer. Yes sir; to Mr. Lincoln's election, I think, and the action the south has taken in the matter. I think there is not the least doubt that Maryland will go with the south.

Question. That is, if a separation takes place?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

Question. You stated that you had taken the Crittenden resolutions as an ultimatum. I do not understand exactly what you mean by that.

Answer. I will explain with pleasure. I think that Maryland would go for the Crittenden resolutions—would indorse them—take them as a compromise. She is anxious and willing for a compromise, being a conservative State. I think it would have been very gratifying to her to have effected a compromise on the basis of those resolutions, so far as I have been able to judge and ascertain the feeling of her people. I am a native of Prince George's county, the largest slaveholding county in the State, and I know the sentiments and feelings of the people there. I have numerous relatives living there, slaveholders—large property-holders—some of them worth as high as \$500,000. I know their feelings, have lived among them, and was raised among them.

Question. It was with reference to your own action, as commander of this company, that I asked. Suppose the Crittenden resolutions should not be adopted by Congress, what then?

Answer. I do not know. I am ready to act with Maryland. If they should not be adopted, I should act with the slaveholders, with Maryland.

Question. Is your company organized in view of that contingency?

Answer. In view of any contingency that might arise, when the day of compromise is past, if there is no compromise to secure such rights as should be secured to us.

Question. Then your company is organized for the purpose of maintaining those rights?

Answer. Certainly; unquestionably.

Question. At all hazards?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Has your company ever contemplated, in that contingency, an assault upon this city?

Answer. They are looking to the conservatism of Congress for a compromise. The people are very anxious, indeed, to know what Congress are doing. They look hopefully to Congress, as if it was the last hope; and I believe the majority of the people of Maryland would be perfectly desperate if nothing is done for them.

Question. That is not exactly the point I desired information about, but the action of your military organization, in the contingency that Congress does not agree with you on that question; whether your or-

ganization contemplates, in any contingency, any action against this Capitol?

Answer. Not that I am aware of, as yet; prospectively, I cannot say. I only speak for the present. For the present there is no such thing in contemplation, to my knowledge. I am a Union-loving man myself; I would go as far as any one else for the Union—as far as my representative here, Colonel Hughes, to save the Union. I had quite a long conversation with him yesterday. He knows the feelings of the people in the section from which I come.

Question. Then, you say distinctly that this organization is not got up with any view, in any contingency, to make any assault upon the capital, or to join in any assault upon the capital?

Answer. I cannot say in any contingency; I merely wish to speak for the present. I wish to be distinctly understood upon that point. I say that at present there is no such thing in contemplation. If Maryland and Virginia go with the south, I do not know what may arise between now and the 4th of March. I feel bound to act with the south and southern interests. I do not know that there is anything in contemplation. I am sure I will not be a mover of anything of the kind. I will merely go with the tide.

Question. Has your company arms?

Answer. No, sir, not yet. I should have gone over to Annapolis yesterday if I had not been summoned here.

Question. How long has this company been organized?

Answer. About a month—three or four weeks.

Question. At whose suggestion was the organization got up?

Answer. I think I can take the credit or discredit, as the case may be, of suggesting the idea. My company was not the first company organized. It was after numerous companies had been organized, not only throughout Prince George's, but other counties. It is as young a company as I know of in the county in which I reside.

Question. Do I understand you to say that it was got up on your own motion, or did any gentleman suggest to you the propriety of organizing it?

Answer. I talked with gentlemen in the neighborhood. I thought we ought to have a company to act as a home guard, and to meet any emergency that might arise. I did not like other districts to get the start of my own district; and with that view I undertook to organize the company.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. I understand you to say that whatever your company may ultimately do, it is not got up especially with reference to making any attack upon this Capitol at all?

Answer. Certainly not.

Question. Got up for purposes of home defence against John Brown raids, or whatever else may arise?

Answer. Yes, sir; that is all.

Question. Under the code of Maryland, if you get arms from the State, you are subject to the order of the governor, are you not?

Answer. Yes, sir; under ordinary circumstances we are subject to

the order of the governor of Maryland, provided the governor of Maryland is not overridden by the popular feeling.

Question. I mean according to the code of laws of Maryland.

Answer. Yes, sir ; according to the code. But the people of Maryland are holding their district meetings, and urging upon the governor the necessity of an extra session of the legislature. Notwithstanding the governor may not sanction the call of the legislature, still it can be done by the voice of the people, who can override the governor. I think that is now going on in the lower counties.

Question. If your company accept arms from the State, I suppose you accept them with the knowledge that you come under the provisions of the code, unless they are subsequently repealed ?

Answer. We can accept arms from the State and not be obliged to fight against our feelings and consciences, because that would be too arbitrary. I am a tax-payer myself, and have been for a number of years, and I help to support the State, and therefore I can receive arms and not feel any compunctions of conscience in dissenting from the governor.

Question. Those who choose to remain members of the company after receiving the governor's orders are bound to obey him, according to the code of law as it now exists ; they can, of course, by withdrawing from the company, free themselves from that ?

Answer. They can make known to the governor their opinions, if he orders them to do what is not according to their feelings and views. The captain and officers generally can throw up their commissions.

By Mr. REYNOLDS :

Question. In that view, would you keep the arms ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; we give security to the State for the arms, of course.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Is Governor Hicks regarded, in your section, as hostile to the Union ?

Answer. No, sir ; I think not.

Question. He is generally regarded there, by your company and by others, as a friend of the Union and a friend of the existing government ?

Answer. There is a conflict of opinion there. My district is largely democratic. There are upwards of 700 votes polled there, and at the last election there were only forty of them—and that was owing to Mr. Blair's influence—cast in favor of Mr. Lincoln. The Bell and Everett men, the Union men, I believe, coalesced pretty generally with the Democrats. You had a gentleman here yesterday, Mr. Hicks, who was a strong Bell and Everett man.

BENJAMIN BERRY.

No. 16.

FRIDAY, *February 1*, 1861.

ENOCH LOUIS LOWE sworn and examined :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Are you native of Maryland?

Answer. I was born in Frederick county, Maryland.

Question. Have you always lived in Maryland?

Answer. Yes, sir : all my life, with the exception of six years that I spent in Europe ; I was educated in Europe.

Question. You are, therefore, very well acquainted in Maryland?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I know the people of Maryland thoroughly.

Question. Are you also well acquainted in this District?

Answer. I cannot say that my acquaintance here is very general ; I know a great many people here, but I am not acquainted with the great bulk of the population here ; but I have canvassed Maryland four or five times, and I know the people in all the counties, perhaps, as well as any man in Maryland.

Question. Will you state whether you know of any organization in this District that has for its object the taking or holding any of the public property here as against the United States?

Answer. I do not, except public rumors.

Question. These sensation articles in the press?

Answer. Simply those ; nothing more than what you have seen yourself in the public papers and general hotel talk ; I do not consider public rumor to be any knowledge.

Question. The question was designed to be limited to your own knowledge.

Answer. I do not know of any such organization.

Question. Do you know of the existence of any such organization, secret or open, civil or military, whose object is to do such a thing in any contingency ; for instance, in the contingency of the secession of Virginia and Maryland?

Answer. I know of no such organization ; but I will say this, that I have not the slightest doubt that if Maryland does secede she will claim her rights here, and I will advocate them.

Question. So far as the possession of the District is concerned?

Answer. Yes, sir ; peaceably if possible, forcibly only as a last resort ; that is, provided Maryland shall resume her State sovereignty. I presume that then she will claim all the rights she is entitled to ; but not by secret conspiracy, but by open and manly action. This is only my opinion ; I have no authority to speak for her people.

Question. Do you include among those rights the possession of the public property in this District?

Answer. I think that is a matter for negotiation in the event of a dissolution of the Union ; I think by the fact of dissolution, and the fact of Maryland's separate secession, if that should ever take place,

then, as a matter of course, by the common law, the District would revert to Maryland

Question. That is, the jurisdiction would revert to her?

Answer. Of course; the public buildings on the soil, the improvements made by the United States, would be a matter of negotiation; but understand me to say distinctly that I know of no organization, no purpose, no design, no combination whatever, existing at this time, either for the present or the future, with any object of that kind; I only express my opinion as to what would, in all probability, be the course of Maryland if she assumed the position that has been assumed by other States. That is merely my opinion.

Question. By way of understanding what you mean to say is your opinion, would you limit any resumption of rights on the part of Maryland by political action, as secession for instance, to political rights touching the jurisdiction of the territory formerly ceded to the United States; or would you extend it to such property as the United States now own the fee of, and have erected buildings upon?

Answer. In the first place, I want it understood that my answers to these questions are voluntary, because I do not recognize the authority of this committee to propound inquisitorial questions to me in regard to my opinions; therefore any answer I may give is to be construed as a voluntary answer, simply to prevent the possibility of a suspicion that I would conceal any opinion I entertain.

Question. My last question, if I made myself understood, related rather to an explanation of your answer to a former question than otherwise.

Answer. Well, sir, I do not know what course Maryland would pursue in any contingency. I am not authorized to speak for her, and she has not been allowed to speak for herself by her constituted authorities. When she does speak for herself I, as a loyal citizen, will be governed by her voice. I suppose the State of Maryland, in the event of her secession, as a matter of course, would claim the reversion of the District, which was granted to the United States for specific purposes, which purposes would then have failed. As to her then claiming, by virtue of that reversion, an absolute interest in all the public buildings here, paid for out of the common fund of the Union, I would say emphatically that she is too honorable for that. I do not presume any other State would do so. I am not aware that any seceding State has done so. I only speak of my opinion of the honor and integrity of my section. I think that is sufficiently distinct. I wish it also to be inserted in the record that this is not to be construed as indicating, on my part, an opinion of any present purpose on the part of Maryland to secede. I have no idea there is any opinion in the minds of the people, or any desire, at this time, for secession. I am not, at this time, an advocate for secession. On the contrary, I am opposed to it if a peaceable and honorable adjustment can be obtained. I only speak of the contingency which you submitted to my consideration. My position is so well known in Maryland, by my publications and speeches, that I suppose it is almost impossible, even if a mistake was made in this record, for the public at home not to understand me. And I will say, in that connexion,

that I believe whatever course is pursued by Virginia will be concurred in by Maryland. No power can separate Maryland from Virginia.

Question. Have you ever been sent to this city on the part of any meeting, or any considerable number of the citizens of Maryland, in connexion with other gentlemen, as a committee to consult with any person or persons about taking any of the public property here by force in any contingency?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. You say you never have come as one of a committee for that purpose; have you ever as an individual?

Answer. No, sir; in no manner whatever. I am aware that the false rumors upon which this last question is based, grew out of an accidental circumstance, which was this: the electors of the State of Maryland met at Annapolis for the purpose of casting the electoral vote of Maryland, and several of them, desiring to be presented to Mr. Breckinridge, for whom they had voted, intimated a wish that I would accompany them to this city to introduce them. I came for that purpose. Whilst here we held an informal meeting, finding a number of eminent men from Maryland here, at the National Hotel, I think, for the purpose of consulting in regard to the most efficient means of obtaining from Governor Hicks a call for the convening of the legislature, through the instrumentality of county conventions, and to make arrangements for calling those conventions. It was altogether an informal, accidental meeting, and that was its sole purpose. That purpose was carried out, which Governor Hicks totally disregarded. The purpose was to give the people of Maryland an opportunity to speak for themselves, and I will say here that they will do that either with or without his permission. I heard shortly after this meeting was held here that the character indicated by your question had been given to it. It was totally untrue in every respect. The meeting was held with open doors, and several gentlemen whom I did not know came in during the course of the evening; and gentlemen very frequently expressed their personal opinions as to what Maryland ought to do in certain cases. We were all, I think, unanimous (and I am now of the opinion) that Maryland ought to secede whenever Virginia does; and I have said so to my people, though I hope most earnestly that an occasion or necessity for it never may arise.

And now let me say, gentlemen, that there is a feeling throughout the whole body of the people of Maryland, as indicated not merely by the public expressions of her public men, by the resolutions of public meetings and conventions in the counties, one of which is reported in the Baltimore Sun of this morning, but also by the indignant denunciations uttered by the masses of her people, that this whole report in reference to a combination on the part of her citizens to seize the Capitol and prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln is a premeditated and scandalous libel upon the honor of our State, in which opinion I fully concur; that it has been gotten up within the State of Maryland for ulterior purposes, affecting her interests and her destiny. Here, in the Baltimore Sun of this morning, is the report of a meeting in Prince George's county, and here is a synopsis of their resolutions,

one of which is "denouncing Governor Hicks's representations that the people of the State intended to seize the district by force." Here is a denunciation by one county in which the whole State coincides. Our belief is that it is a pretext for the purpose of gathering an armed force in the city of Washington, not for the protection of Mr. Lincoln, but to overawe the people of Maryland hereafter; another purpose is, as we believe, to create a panic among the timid portion of the people of Maryland, and thereby induce them to sustain the policy of refusing the privilege to her people of being heard at the ballot-box in this crisis.

And I will say further in that connexion that I have never heard of any single, solitary individual in all Maryland, up to this hour, who has asserted as a fact, and not simply rumor, that there was any such organization for any such purpose, other than Governor Hicks in his official proclamation to the people of the State, and which I hold in my hands. It is dated the 3d of January, 1861, and in it he holds the following language:

"But, my fellow-citizens, it is my duty to tell you that the reassembling of the legislature is wished for by many who urge it with a view to no such specification. I have been repeatedly warned by persons having the opportunity to know, and who are entitled to the highest confidence, that the secession leaders in Washington have resolved that the border States, and especially Maryland, shall be precipitated into secession with the cotton States before the fourth of March. They have resolved to seize the federal Capitol and the public archives, so that they may be in a position to be acknowledged by foreign governments as the 'United States,' and the assent of Maryland is necessary, as the District of Columbia would revert to her in the case of a dissolution of the Union. It is only contemplated to retain it for a few years, as the wants of the southern military confederacy will cause its removal further south. The plan contemplates forcible opposition to Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, and, consequently, civil war upon Maryland soil and a transfer of its horrors from the States which are to provoke it."

Now, sir, as a citizen of Maryland, who has been frequently honored by the public confidence, and who is well acquainted with the sentiments of her people, as an act of justice to my native State, I respectfully request this committee to summon Governor Hicks before them and demand from him the authority and proofs upon which he has made that statement.

Question. This statement in his proclamation of the 3d of January?

Answer. Yes, sir; and if you will read that proclamation you will find that that is one of the principal reasons he addresses to the people to induce them to sustain his policy, and which I say is emphatically unjust to our people, as not allowing them to settle their destinies for themselves.

Question. How long ago was this informal meeting here in this city which you have described?

Answer. It was the day after our meeting at Annapolis to cast our electoral votes. The law of Congress fixes that day. I think we

came over here the morning after, and it was that evening that we had the meeting.

Question. It was early in December, then?

Answer. Yes, sir. It was purely accidental. We met a number of gentlemen here—the president of our State senate and a number of other eminent gentlemen—and we thought it was a good time to consult together, as we were all of the same way of thinking, as to the best mode of inducing or compelling Governor Hicks to call our legislature together; to get up county demonstrations to compel him to do what we considered his duty to the people of the State. That was the sole purpose. There were many things said there in the way of private opinion relative to the ulterior course of Maryland, but nothing touching any arrangement or combination having for its purpose the subject-matter of your inquiry here. I assure you there is not one word of truth in it, I am satisfied.

Question. Did these gentlemen at that time visit, in a body, Brown's Hotel?

Answer. No, sir. This meeting was held in a large room at the National—I think they call it the "club room." The hotel was very crowded, and we were put in that room; some half a dozen of us were put there. We held the meeting in our own room. I do not think I have been at Brown's Hotel for two years. I have no recollection of it if I have. I know of no other meeting than that. That is the only meeting I have any knowledge of, here in Washington city, for that or any other purpose.

Question. Do you know General Clark, a member of the House from Missouri?

Answer. I have seen him, and I think I have been introduced to him, I am not certain. But I can say that I have no acquaintance with him.

Question. Were you in his room in this city some time about the first of January or the last of December?

Answer. I have no recollection of it.

Question. I was under the impression that his room was at Brown's Hotel, and I think you stated that you have not been there for some time.

Answer. I have not been at Brown's Hotel, I cannot say for how long. I always stop at the National when I am here. I am very certain that I was not in General Clark's room if he stops at Brown's Hotel.

Question. At no time?

Answer. I have no recollection whatever of being in it at any time.

Question. Do you know whether Mr. Stewart, a member of the House, boards at Brown's Hotel?

Answer. When I was here on that occasion, I think he was stopping at the National. I saw him at the National on that occasion; he was in the room with us.

Question. When were you governor of the State of Maryland?

Answer. I was elected in October, 1850, and inaugurated in January, 1851, and served until January, 1854. Under the old constitution the term of service of the governor was three years. Under the

new constitution, which went into effect during my term, the term of the governor is four years.

Question. Can you state whether any other ex-governor of Maryland was with you on the occasion of your visit here?

Answer. Yes, sir; Ex-Governor Philip Francis Thomas was with us in that room. He was there, in fact, through my instrumentality; at least I suppose so, as I sent to invite him.

Question. He was recently Secretary of the Treasury?

Answer. Yes, sir; he was my immediate predecessor in the office of governor. His presence at our meeting, I suppose, occurred in this way: after I met Mr. Brooks on the street, who was the president of our senate, I sent some one, I do not remember whom, to Governor Thomas, who was then Commissioner of Patents here. He being a Marylander, having been governor of our State, and knowing that he concurred with me in opinion, I sent to him to request him to come down to our room that evening. Whether he came in pursuance of that invitation, or upon the invitation of others, I cannot say. But it is more than likely that he came in pursuance of that invitation. I was myself principally instrumental in getting up that meeting. Upon my arrival at the National I found that several prominent Marylanders were there, and I suggested to them that the electors had come over for the purpose of seeing Mr. Breckinridge, and that as we happened to meet, we ought to have some consultation as to the future policy of our State. I know nothing of any other meeting, and never heard of any other. Not only was I not present at any other meeting, but I have never heard of any other meeting in the city of Washington than the one I have spoken of.

Question. Have you any information touching any representations that may have been made to Governor Hicks, or any other person in Maryland, except this proclamation?

Answer. None in the world. I know nothing of Governor Hicks, except what I have seen in the press.

Question. And you have nothing more to communicate than these paragraphs from Governor Hicks's proclamation?

Answer. None at all. I have heard that in one or two other public communications he has made similar announcements, but I have not seen them, or if I have, they have escaped my recollection.

Let me say, in conclusion, that I am thoroughly acquainted with the people of the State of Maryland. I know thousands of them personally. I am intimately acquainted with nearly all her public men who entertain my political opinions; I am in frequent intercourse with them. I think I am well acquainted with their sentiments and their views, and I am perfectly confident that no organization such as that referred to in the inquiry here has ever been contemplated by any responsible parties within the State. From my knowledge of the character of the people of Maryland, I believe they would despise and scorn a secret conspiracy, being possessed of the moral and physical courage to vindicate their rights openly, with arms in their hands, whenever occasion demands; of which occasion the people of the State of Maryland are the exclusive judges, and which they will determine upon in defiance of internal or external suppression or coercion.

Question. Or in *other* words, if there should be any collision, their action will be under State authority rather than under any voluntary organization, secret or otherwise?

Answer. Of course, any such action would be by and under State authority, that is, the authority of the people acting in convention or otherwise as they shall deem best; I do not mean by submission to the present acting authorities of Maryland, but by the action of the people themselves; not by irresponsible men in secret conspiracy. Whatever the people do will be openly done.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. Do you think that in the event Maryland should secede, and in the absence of any attempt to coerce her into the Union, she would undertake to assert her jurisdiction over this District by force if necessary?

Answer. Really that is a question that it is impossible for any man to answer at this time. I am satisfied that Maryland will not, in any event, fail to do all in her power, first to preserve the Union upon the complete recognition of her constitutional rights, and only leave it in company with Virginia and the other southern States, and then peaceably if possible. If she leaves it, I have no doubt she will assert all legal claims with moderation, but with courage and unalterable firmness of purpose.

E. LOUIS LOWE.

No. 17.

FRIDAY, *February 1*, 1861.

CORNELIUS BOYLE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. You are an old resident of this city, are you not?

Answer. I was born in Washington.

Question. And have resided here ever since?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Are you a practicing physician here?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Your acquaintance here, then, is very extensive?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And you have as good means of knowing what is going on here among the citizens of Washington as anybody?

Answer. I have every opportunity, I think. My acquaintance is large, and I move about a great deal.

Question. You know all the old citizens proper here?

Answer. Yes, sir; almost every one.

Question. Do you know of any organization in this city, either secret or otherwise, that has for its object any hostilities towards the government property here?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Or against the peace of the city?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Do you know of any such organization that has for its object to do that in any future contingency whatever?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Do you know of any considerable number of individuals here unorganized that have any such purpose?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Do you believe that any such organization exists?

Answer. I do not.

Question. So far as you know, is there any purpose, on the part of anybody, to seize violently either the navy yard, arsenal, Capitol, or any of the executive buildings in this city?

Answer. I think not. I have never seen anything more about it than you have, such as sensation articles in the newspapers.

Question. You have no information about it more than what appears in these sensation articles?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you ever heard anybody here ever threaten to do that?

Answer. I never have. I have heard people say, "Damn the government! it ought to be blown up!"—people on the street. I do not remember who they were, as I paid no attention to them. I was in Brown's one night, and I heard three or four persons there, from different sections, talking on the state of the country, and one said: "Damn the government! it ought to be blown up!"

Question. You paid no attention to it?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. It made no impression upon you as being for any such purpose?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Are you acquainted with an organization here called the National Volunteers?

Answer. I am.

Question. Is it a political or military company?

Answer. A military company, without arms.

Question. They have never received their arms?

Answer. No, sir; they have never applied for them.

Question. Was it originally organized as a political or military company?

Answer. Political and military.

Question. Was it a set-off to the Wide-awakes, in a political sense?

Answer. It was organized, in the first place, for the purpose of making a military company of friends, and at the same time to make a democratic organization in the different wards of the city, for the purposes of our local elections.

Question. Are you a member of it?

Answer. I am.

Question. So far as you know, from all your connexion with it, in

its meetings, and your intercourse with its members, do you believe that there is any unlawful purpose whatever entertained?

Answer. I know there is not.

Question. Are you an active member?

Answer. I am the senior officer.

Question. It is composed largely of citizens here who are property holders?

Answer. Yes, sir. I do not know how many members there are. The financial secretary could tell that.

Question. About how many?

Answer. I think on the original roll there were between 250 and 280 names. That is my impression, but I will not swear to it positively. The financial secretary could give you the names of every one. It is not a secret organization; we never had a secret meeting.

Question. It is nothing more nor less than a military company?

Answer. Nothing more. The constitution was drafted by a military gentleman in one of the departments; so I was informed.

Question. Then you know of no association here that has any such purpose?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Or any individuals who have any such purpose?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Did you see a resolution published in the papers that purported to be passed by this company or organization at one of their meetings a few days or weeks ago?

Answer. Yes, sir; I presented them. I was the chairman of the committee that reported them.

Question. What was the drift of them?

Answer. I have them here in my pocket. [Producing them.]

Question. Then it is an error, so far as Mr. Washington being the author of them?

Answer. Yes, sir. I could not see well to read them, the gas-light was so high up; and I asked him, as he was on the committee, and they were in his handwriting, to read them.

The resolutions were then read as follows:

"1. That we will stand by and defend the south, and that under no circumstances will we assume a position of hostility to her interests, or affiliate with a military organization prompted by a partisan spirit to subserve the aims of the black republican party.

"2. That the reign of terror attempted to be inaugurated in our midst is a system of tyranny which calls for the most emphatic rebuke.

"3. That we will aid each other and all good citizens against abolition violence, insults, and attacks upon private property.

"4. We will act, in event of the withdrawal of Maryland and Virginia from the Union, in such manner as shall best secure ourselves and those States from the evils of a foreign and hostile government within and near their borders."

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. What is your idea—express it in your own language—of that clause of the resolution where you say that under no circumstances will you go against the interests of the southern States? Was it against the south in favor of some other section, or against the south in favor of the government? That is, when you drafted the resolutions, was it your idea that you would not go against the interests of the south if the south were contending with the general government, or that you would not go against the interests of the south if the south were having some trouble with the north?

Answer. Not at all. We say there distinctly that we will put down any mob from the north or the south. We are property holders. I think the most of the excitement here was caused by the government bringing troops here—uncalled for, in my opinion, entirely. I will undertake to keep the peace of the city under contract.

Question. Did you or did you not suppose that by the adoption of these resolutions the company were pledging themselves that in case of any collision between the south and the general government, they would go against the general government?

Answer. Not at all.

Question. "Under no circumstances," you say.

Answer. Under all circumstances we cast our lot with Maryland. We are Marylanders; and when the case arises, then we will decide.

Question. Suppose that Maryland secedes?

Answer. Then we should consider how we should act.

Question. Then you would consider yourselves as owing allegiance to Maryland rather than to the general government and the Constitution of the United States?

Answer. What is the government of the United States, if half the States are out? That question cannot be answered at this time. I am a Union man, but I am not a Union man under all circumstances.

Question. Have you ever been consulted by prominent men outside of the District from any of the States as to what the action of the people of this District would be in regard to turning over the public property to the seceding States?

Answer. I have not.

Question. No one has ever approached you upon the subject?

Answer. No, sir; not in that way.

Question. In any way relating to this subject?

Answer. I have had this question asked me by many prominent men in and out of the district: In the event of Maryland and Virginia seceding, what is the feeling of the citizens of Washington? I have always answered, that I believe four-fifths of the people would go with Maryland. But I have always looked upon that question as being a question whether the people were in favor of being citizens of Maryland or independent citizens. We are in a curious position here in this city.

Question. It was an expression of your opinion in regard to public sentiment here touching the choice of allegiance?

Answer. Yes, sir; that was the idea exactly, between the north and the south. I think a large majority of the people are southern

in their feelings, though I may be mistaken about that. It may be that I am thrown with only that class of people.

Question. Do you think that this excitement, owing to these sensation articles or otherwise, is increasing or diminishing?

Answer. I think it is being increased by the New York papers. I honestly think there is no excitement among the people.

Question. You do not think there is any danger.

Answer. No, sir ; I do not. I think that the mayor of the city and his police can keep the peace. I would be willing, as far as his safety is concerned, to sit by the side of Mr. Lincoln, and go with him, and agree to have my head cut off if any harm comes to him from the citizens of Washington.

Question. And if any harm comes to Mr. Lincoln, it must come from outside the city?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. In the event that Maryland should secede and assert her jurisdiction over this District as against the United States, and the United States should merely attempt to maintain its jurisdiction here in the District, what would you consider the duty of your organization, under these resolutions you have adopted, in such a case?

Answer. That question I could not answer, because I presume every man would act for himself. I can tell how I should act. I should owe my allegiance to Maryland, and though I hold my property here, I would go there.

Question. Should you consider that your organization was pledged by these resolutions in that event—I do not speak of coercion of States or anything of the kind—to aid Maryland to assert her jurisdiction over the District as against the United States?

Answer. Not as an organization ; every individual would act as he pleased.

Question. What do you think, independent of the resolutions, would be the sentiment of the organization on that point?

Answer. I think a large majority, may be all of them, would go with Maryland.

Question. And would contribute with their strength, whatever that may be, to aid Maryland to assert her jurisdiction over this District as against the United States?

Answer. No, sir ; I did not say that.

Question. I wanted to know whether you thought it would be the disposition of your organization, in such an event, to wrest the jurisdiction from the United States?

Answer. I think they would obey the law of Maryland, and whatever that law ordered them to do they would do.

Question. That does not quite meet my question. I wanted to get at the feelings and disposition of your organization, or any members of it, as far as you know, as to what they would feel it their duty to do, independent of any requirements of law, in the event Maryland attempted to assert jurisdiction over this District as against the United States?

Answer. I do not exactly understand your question.

Question. From your knowledge of the members of your organization, what, in your opinion, would they feel to be their duty to do in such an emergency, without regard to the requirements of the law? Whether they would feel it their duty to aid Maryland in the attempt to assert her jurisdiction of this District as against the United States, without regard to the question of coercing the States?

Answer. I could not answer that question for the corps.

Question. I do not mean as a body, but your opinion of what they would be disposed to do.

Answer. I would cast my destiny with the south. I have considerable private property here; and in the event that Maryland and Virginia seceded, I should not take up arms against them. That is my private individual opinion.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Have you heard the other members of the company express themselves freely upon that point?

Answer. I have not.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. You are an active member of this organization of volunteers?

Answer. I am the senior officer, the captain, and president of the council of five.

Question. How many members were present at the meeting that passed those resolutions?

Answer. That I could not tell. I should think there were three hundred people there. I do not know as they were all members or not. We have never had a secret meeting.

Question. You turned out a reporter once for some cause?

Answer. Yes, sir; and we will turn him out again, out of the window next time, because he misrepresented the organization.

Question. You say you did turn a reporter out once?

Answer. We did.

Question. Not because he made your proceedings public, but because he falsified what occurred there?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Did you allow other reporters to come in?

Answer. Yes, sir; we invited the reporters of the National Intelligencer, the States and Union, and the Constitution papers to attend our meeting

Question. You have no objection to any persons going there?

Answer. No, sir; any one who behaves himself.

Question. And are generally rather gratified to have them come?

Answer. Yes, sir. Our resolutions were published in all the papers, and all the reporters are admitted there except the reporter of the Star.

Question. Is there such an association as the National Volunteers in the north?

Answer. I understand there is one in Baltimore.

Question. Do you know of any in the northern States?

Answer. I do not. The National Volunteers, before the election, were political supporters of Breckinridge and Lane. Some eighty of us went on to Baltimore and turned out with them there in a torch-light procession.

CORNELIUS BOYLE.

No. 18.

FRIDAY, *February* 1, 1861.

DANIEL RATCLIFFE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Will you state whether you have any knowledge or information touching any organization in this city relating to the subject of inquiry embraced in the resolution referred to this committee by the House last Saturday?

Answer. I have not; and I think if there was such an organization, from my general acquaintance and familiarity with the people here, I should have known something about it?

Question. Do you know any purposes of that character that are entertained or expressed by individuals in an unorganized capacity to any considerable extent?

Answer. I do not. I have heard rumors and surmises of such a purpose.

Question. Sensation articles in the papers?

Answer. Yes, sir; but I have treated them with the contempt I thought they deserved.

Question. Then, to sum it all up, you have no knowledge or belief that any such organization exists, or that any citizens here, or anybody in this District, entertain any settled purpose of the kind?

Answer. I do not believe there is any such purpose. I will add here that it is my belief that in the present state of the public mind, if any collision were to occur between the two sides, there would be danger; but that is a mere belief.

Question. Danger of what—a general melee?

Answer. A general melee; a sort of universal fight.

Question. Persons taking sides according to their feelings?

Answer. According to their impulses just at the time.

Question. There is no disposition on the part of anybody, so far as you know, to commence any attack upon the government in the possession of its property?

Answer. No, sir; none at all. We are particularly interested here in keeping down this thing; and I will say further, that if I knew there was any such purpose I would feel it to be my duty, as a good citizen, to at once inform the authorities here.

Question. Were you a resident of this city prior to assuming your present position as assistant attorney in the Court of Claims?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I have been here for 15 years. I have practiced largely in the criminal court here, and would be likely to know of any such purpose, because I am acquainted with the class of men who would be most likely to be in it ; and I will say further, that if anything of this kind occurs, I shall feel it to be my duty, as a good citizen, to do all in my power to stop it.

DANIEL RATCLIFFE.

No. 19.

FRIDAY, *February 1, 1861.*

GODARD BAILEY sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Have you been some time a resident of this city ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; since the spring of 1857.

Question. You are not a native of the District, then ?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Of what State are you a native ?

Answer. I am a South Carolinian by birth. I removed from Carolina to Alabama in 1854, and resided there up to the time of my removal to Washington. I hail from Mobile at present.

Question. Do you know of your own knowledge—I am not including rumors and hearsay in this question—of the existence of any organization in this city, secret or open, civil or military, that contemplates any attack upon the government and its public property in this city ?

Answer. No, sir ; I do not.

Question. Have you heard any person assert that such an organization did exist in this city ; that is, any responsible person ? I do not allude to vague rumors and sensation articles.

Answer. That is a very hard question to answer ; I desire to answer frankly all questions put to me ; I do not think I could answer that question in the affirmative ; but I might say this, with perfect truth : that I believe if there were such an organization I would know of it.

Question. You think your means of information would be as good as those of anybody ?

Answer. I know I would be one of the very first persons approached on the subject. I am firmly persuaded there is no such organization ; you have reference, of course, to an armed organization in the interests of the southern States.

Question. I have reference to any organization, secret or otherwise, existing in this city for such a purpose. We might suppose, if such an organization existed anywhere, it would exist out of the city, as well as in it.

Answer. I mean in the interest of the southern States.

Question. I do not ask whose interest it is in ; but whether it is hostile to the government property ?

Answer. I have heard responsible persons say there was an armed organization here that proposed to take possession of the city.

Question. Can you state whom you have heard say so?

Answer. Well, I do not know; I have heard it asserted generally by a great many people; I think I heard Mr. Wigfall say so; but I will not be positive.

Question. Do I understand you to limit your reply to its existence in this city?

Answer. Yes, sir; and I would like to add to that, that I understand that organization is composed exclusively of members of the republican party. I have understood that there was a lodge of Wide-awakes organized here, and I believe it to be true. I presumed your first question had no reference to them, and that is the reason I answered it as I did.

Question. Do you believe that the Wide-awakes, if they exist here—you say you do believe they do exist here?

Answer. I have seen them parading in the street.

Question. Do you believe they have any purpose or design of attacking the Capitol, or navy yard, or any other piece of public property here in this city?

Answer. I believe they had such an idea. I would like to explain: I was arrested on the 26th of December, and I was not bailed out until the 19th of January; and during all that time I had no means of knowing what was going on outside. And since that time, I have seen very few persons to talk with; I think I have had no conversation on the subject since. I would like to explain what I mean by having heard of these rumors, and believing this organization to be in existence. Soon after the result of the last presidential election was known, there was a very large parade of an association popularly known as Wide-awakes, here in the city of Washington. And soon after that, rumors began to circulate that this was an armed organization, the object of which was to take possession of the city of Washington. There were rumors of large similar bodies coming down here in anticipation of trouble on the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln; that they were going to swarm all over the southern States, and would come here and take possession of this city. I have heard hundreds of people talk about it, and it was generally credited. And without particularizing any individual, I have heard fifty or sixty persons say so. It was generally believed by persons with whom I associated.

Question. And all these things you have referred to were before the time you have named?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. In December last?

Answer. Yes, sir; I was first arrested on the 24th of December, and bailed out on the same day. And I was re-arrested on the 26th of December.

Question. And this was all prior to Christmas?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And since then you have had no conversation about it?

Answer. No, sir; since then I have had no conversation with anybody about it; except that I have understood from my friends that there was no such organization outside of this Wide-awake organiza-

tion. I am speaking of an organization composed of southern men, having in view seizing this city, in the interest of the south. I have spoken to southern men, friends of mine, and asked them if they knew of such an organization, and they said they did not.

Question. You have heard spoken of, I suppose, the organization called the "K. G. C.'s," or Knights of the Golden Circle?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you ever had any knowledge of them—whether they existed at all, or for what purpose?

Answer. I do not know anything about them, except what appeared in the newspapers; I have always regarded them as a filibustering association.

Question. You have no other knowledge of them but what was published?

Answer. None but what I saw in the papers.

Question. You say you "believed," with regard to the purposes entertained by the Wide-awakes: did you form your opinion mainly from what you saw in the newspapers and what was common current rumor, or upon distinct statements made to you by responsible parties?

Answer. Well, so far as my individual belief was concerned, it grew out of two or three things. I have been, ever since I grew up to manhood, a member of what was called in the south the ultra States' rights party. I have been in the confidence of those men, and generally knew what their plans were. I was satisfied, in my own mind, that the election of Mr. Lincoln would result in the secession of one or more southern States; I was satisfied the Gulf States would go out anyhow. This threat of secession had been talked of in the papers, and had been met by announcements in the Tribune and other organs of the republican party, to the effect that the Wide-awakes would come down and prevent any action on the part of Virginia and Maryland; and, in the event of an attempt on the part of southern men to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln by force, they would be met and crushed out. Feeling satisfied, in my own mind, that the southern States would go out, I thought it very likely that the republican party might carry out the policy foreshadowed in those papers; and therefore I was prepared to believe a rumor that there was an organization for that purpose. I never had any doubts myself, after the 6th of November, what the course of the southern States would be.

Question. From your intimate knowledge of the principal men?

Answer. From my knowledge of them, and from my knowledge of the tone and temper of the people.

Question. Did you anticipate that it is probable that a collision would take place between them and the general government with reference to the possession of the public property in this city?

Answer. I do not know about that.

Question. I mean immediately. What ultimate results would be is another thing.

Answer. I think if it had not been for Governor Hicks, and if there had been an opportunity afforded for a convention of the people of Maryland, it might. Whether it will occur now or not I cannot say. The theory, the plain principle of law is, that if the government of

the United States is dissolved, of course the fee of this District would revert to Maryland, who had ceded it to the government. And certainly no southern State would like to take it away from Maryland, so far as the realty of the buildings is concerned.

Question. Let me put a question which will be more precise. Do you mean the fee of the government property, or merely the political jurisdiction of the District? For instance, do you mean the fee that the government has of this ground on which the Capitol stands?

Answer. I mean the right of eminent domain.

Question. Not proprietorship?

Answer. I would make a distinction there. In respect to the land, those lots of land which the government has bought and paid for, and built on, I presume their right in it would be respected just as the right of any other landed proprietor. But in respect to those lots which were got by cession, for which they paid nothing, I presume, the purposes of the trust having failed, they would revert to Maryland.

Question. I meant to ask whether you confined your remark to general jurisdiction, or do you mean absolute proprietorship?

Answer. I want to say this: it is all conjectural on my part; it does not amount to anything. I really know nothing whatever about an armed organization. What I mean is this: I think, if the State of Maryland secedes, and claims it, she is the only southern State that can claim it. Whatever might be said in regard to the archives and records of the confederation is another thing.

GODARD BAILEY.

No. 20.

SATURDAY, *February 2, 1861.*

WM. M. McCAULEY sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?

Answer. Washington city.

Question. How long have you lived here?

Answer. I have lived here all my life. I was born and raised here. I have lived here all my life, except some two years, when I was away at Philadelphia and other places.

Question. Have you been at any time a clerk in one of the departments?

Answer. I am now assistant machinist in the Patent Office, and have been for nine years.

Question. Are you pretty well acquainted in the city?

Answer. Yes, sir; I am very well acquainted.

Question. And in the departments?

Answer. Yes, sir; every one knows me, I guess; knows my name.

Question. Do you know, of your own knowledge, whether there is any society, or organization, or company here, that has for its object any attack upon the Capitol, or any of the departments here?

H. Rep. Com. 79—8

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Nor upon the navy yard or arsenal.

Answer. No, sir; I have heard these things talked about, but I do not know anything about it. I have heard it said that there was an organization in Baltimore, but whether there is or not I do not know.

Question. Judging from this talk, what do you understand, supposing the organization to exist, the purpose to be? What is it said to be?

Answer. It is merely when I am passing by that I might hear three or four persons talking together, saying that they had heard of such a thing, and that Henry A. Wise had said something of the kind.

Question. Can you name any person you heard talking in this way?

Answer. No, sir, I cannot; I hardly taxed my memory with anything of the kind; it was merely flying rumor. The papers, I believe, spoke of Henry A. Wise, but I am not certain; I do not know whether I got it from the papers or bystanders.

Question. Then all you know about it you have got from reading these sensation articles?

Answer. Yes, sir; or hearing two or three men talking together, or something of that kind. I never taxed my memory with anything of the kind.

Question. Are you acquainted with an association or military company here called the National Volunteers?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Do you belong to them?

Answer. No, sir. If you will allow me, I will state this: I was a member of the National Democratic Volunteers, gotten up, as I so understood it, at the time of the last election, for a sort of procession in Baltimore.

Question. A political matter?

Answer. Yes, sir. I put my name down to that. In the meantime I was taken sick, and did not go. Indeed, I did not intend in the first place to go; but as I was sick I had a good excuse for not going, and did not go. Some time ago I saw in the papers a call for the National Democratic Association to have a meeting. I went there, and there were certain preambles and resolutions which did not coincide with my views in regard to this thing. I said nothing. They had a constitution, and handed it to me to sign, and I would not sign it. And I came out in the papers and said I was not one of them.

Question. Was the association composed mainly of men belonging to the old Jackson Association?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. It was purely a political, democratic, association?

Answer. Yes, sir; I looked upon it in that light.

Question. Have you any knowledge as to whether it has, in any way, changed its purpose?

Answer. No, sir; I do not know that there is any change in it at all; there may be. My opinion—it is merely the opinion I formed—was that it was gotten up more in consequence of the organization of Mr. Carrington's company. This was got up, as I have understood

since, for the purpose of keeping Mr. Carrington from going on with some political thing.

Question. A kind of opposition club?

Answer. Yes, sir ; so I have looked at it. I have not been at a meeting since. I had an idea at first that it was a kind of secession movement. Some of the men, I suppose, are for secession, of course. I do not know who they are. As a body I do not think they are so.

Question. What gave you the idea that it was a secession movement?

Answer. Just hearing persons who are members talking outside.

Question. Not from anything you know to have been done by the company?

Answer. No, sir. If there has been anything done in the way of a secret organization, I think it has been done by a few persons.

Question. This is not a secret organization?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Anybody can attend the meeting that pleases?

Answer. Yes, sir. At the night I was there, it was requested that if there were any reporters present, except the reporter of the Star, they would come forward and make a report of the meeting. It seems that the Star at the time of the meeting of the association had ridiculed it by calling it the jackass association.

Question. The Star reporter was excluded for what they deemed abusive language in his report?

Answer. Yes, sir. The other reporters, at the night I was there, were invited to come up and make a correct report of the meeting. They were invited to come forward, and they would have a desk given them. But as to whether they have been excluded since that night, I do not know anything about it.

Question. You have not been there since?

Answer. No, sir ; I did not indorse them, and have not attended since.

Question. That is all that you know about it?

Answer. Yes, sir ; that is all that I know about it.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. You say you got the idea that it was a secession club from what you had heard some of the members of it say?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Do you mean by that that they said that the object of this club was to bring about secession, or only that they themselves were in favor of secession?

Answer. No, sir ; not that. I understood one man in particular to say this : I was at the National Hotel one evening, in the billiard room. This person remarked to me, "Are you going to the meeting?" I said "No ; I don't have anything to do with it at all ; I am not a member of it. Just the transfer of my name from the National Democratic Association to the National Volunteers don't make me a member of it." Said I, "I don't indorse anything like secession ; I am for the Union out and out." I thought there was a secession movement at the bottom of it, on account of these preambles and res-

olutions. Said he, "Are you going to resign?" I said, "No; I am not going to resign; I am not a member until I sign the new constitution." "Well," said he, "I am going up to it; I am a secessionist." Said I, "You have a perfect right." Said he, "I go with Maryland and Virginia."

Question. And you suspected it was a secession club?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. But did you suspect then, or at any time, that it was a secret organization, having for its object an attack upon the Capitol, or any of the public buildings?

Answer. No, sir; I never had such an idea; and I do not believe that any man thinks of doing such a thing.

[Upon reading over his testimony the witness desired to state that the person with whom he held the conversation at the National Hotel, above referred to, he has since understood was not a member of the National Volunteers.]

WM. M. McCAULEY.

No. 21.

MONDAY, *February 4*, 1861.

J. TYLER POWELL sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Do you live here in the city?

Answer. I do.

Question. Are you employed in one of the departments?

Answer. I am.

Question. How long have you been here?

Answer. I have resided here all my life; I was born here.

Question. Are you very generally acquainted here with all classes of people?

Answer. Yes, sir; I believe I am.

Question. Do you know of the existence of any organization here that has for its object any interference with any of the public property of the United States here in the District?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Have you ever heard such a thing talked of?

Answer. Well, I have heard a secret organization spoken of; I never was a member of it; I do not know any person who is a member of it.

Question. To what secret organization do you allude that you have heard spoken of?—the Knights of the Golden Cross, or something of that kind?

Answer. I am unable to say what. I heard a gentleman say on the avenue one day that there was an organization of gentlemen in this city which was a secret organization. The purposes of that organization I do not know; but I did understand that they met at

Temperance Hall ; who the members are, or what are their objects, I do not know, and am unable to say. That was some six weeks or two months ago.

Question. Who was the gentleman whom you heard say so ?

Answer. I heard Dr. Boyle speak of it.

Question. You do not know whether it was a political organization or what it was ?

Answer. I do not. But the impression left on my mind by Dr. Boyle in conversation, was that it was a southern institution. That was the impression left upon my mind. I do not know that he made that remark particularly.

Question. That it was an organization favorable to the claims of the south ?

Answer. I presumed it was ; that was the impression left upon my mind.

Question. You do not know what their purposes are ?

Answer. I do not ; I do not know that such an organization does exist, or ever existed.

Question. Was that the only time you ever heard it spoken of ?

Answer. That was the only time.

Question. Are you a member of a military company here called the National Volunteers ?

Answer. I was a member ; I am not now.

Question. That was organized before the election ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What was it—a political or military organization ?

Answer. It was organized as a political association, having no constitution ; it had a heading to which the names of the members were signed, which only pledged themselves to use all honorable means for the election of John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane ; that is, at the time of organization.

Question. That rather took the place of the old Jackson Association ?

Answer. No, sir ; it was formed in that association, as an auxiliary to it, for the purpose of aiding them in circulating documents and making demonstrations.

Question. And since then it has assumed more of a military form ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; it has been merged into a military association.

Question. You are not a member now ?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. When did your membership cease ? About what time ?

Answer. I do not remember the date. I think it was on the 15th of January.

Question. Did you withdraw from them in consequence of any change in their constitution or purposes ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; what I considered to be a change. I have with me a copy of the Evening Star, containing the preamble and resolutions, with my letter of resignation. I think they will explain better, perhaps, than I can myself, the reasons why I left the association.

Question. You objected to the preamble and resolutions ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I objected to the preamble particularly.

The following, from the Evening Star of January 17, 1861, was read :

“ ‘The National Volunteers of the city of Washington, having met for the purpose of perfecting and extending their existing military organization, formed in the month of September, 1860, deem it both a right and duty at this time to declare to their fellow-citizens the principles which will control their future action.

“ ‘The constitutional compact of the Union between the States of the late confederacy of thirty-three States having been repeatedly and grossly violated by the north, a portion of the southern States have been at last forced to seek by withdrawal that security for their peace, property, and honor, which the experience of twenty-five years has demonstrated could not be found under a common government. That government, having been signed by the party which has proposed and justified all these acts of aggression, bad faith, and hostile agitation, is now no longer a shield of defence for the rights of all, but an agency by which the doctrines of a “higher law” may be carried out at such times and in such manner as its advocates may consider expedient. In a spirit of wise forecast and just regard for their honor, three of the slaveholding States have already withdrawn from the Union. Others will follow in a few days, and ere three months shall have passed it is probable that *all* the slaveholding States will be confederated in a union whose symbols will be equality, good faith, and the protection of property of every description. We believe that this city would naturally be the seat of government for such new confederacy, provided its citizens shall not suffer themselves to be drawn into an attitude of hostility to the south and opposition to the wishes and action of the adjacent States of Virginia and Maryland. If Virginia shall secede, it would clearly be unsafe for the federal government to retain this point as a capital. If Maryland should imitate the action of Virginia, and resume her sovereignty, the retention of this city by the black republican government would be not only unsafe but impracticable. We hold, then, that the destinies of Washington are intimately linked with the States of Virginia and Maryland, and that to oppose their action would be ruin to every property-holder in this city.

“ ‘While entertaining those views of future results, we expect their accomplishment by the logic of events, and not by arms. The cry of an alleged organization to interfere with the inauguration or the counting of the votes for President is unfounded, ridiculous, and mischievous in its effects. The attempt to give it a color by military proclamations and meetings, by enrolling the militia, by creating a standing army of 6,000 men in a peaceful city, by planting companies of artillery at prominent points, gathering from exposed frontiers the troops necessary to repel the marauder and the savage, and thus converting our city into an armed camp, we denounce as a wanton and wicked act of folly. It is a reflection upon our existing patriotic military companies, the municipal authorities, and an efficient police. It leads to alarm, public insecurity, and thus strikes at the value of property and the operations of commerce. It puts the deliberations of Congress under the menace of martial rule, and discloses the melan-

choly fact that the government is virtually in the hands of a military dictator, whose sole idea of civil liberty is the application of brute force to coerce sovereign States. We believe that a controlling aim with many of those who have fomented these unusual military preparations is to place arms, at the public expense, in the hands of Wide-awakes of this city and elsewhere, in order that these sympathizers with John Brown may make similar assaults upon life and property in this city. We therefore resolve as follows:

“1. That we will stand by and defend the south, and that under no circumstances will we assume a position of hostility to her interests, or affiliate with a military organization prompted by a partisan spirit to subserve the aims of the black republican party.

“2. That the reign of terror attempted to be inaugurated in our midst is a system of tyranny which calls for the most emphatic rebuke.

“3. That we will aid each other and all good citizens against abolition violence and attacks upon private property.

“4. We will act, in event of the withdrawal of Maryland and Virginia from the Union, in such manner as shall best secure ourselves and those States from the evils of a foreign and hostile government within and near their borders.’

“This matter and some talk about ‘that hoss’ occupied the time till the formal commencement of business proceedings. Secretary Gantt stated that private reasons compelled him to tender his resignation, but that he would stand by the action of Maryland. Other resignations were offered, very much to the disgust of the wire-pullers, and the following manly letter so excited their ire that the name of the writer was ordered to be stricken from the roll and his letter returned to him:

“‘WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 15, 1861.*

“‘*To the officers and members of the “National Volunteers.”*

“‘GENTLEMEN: I hereby tender my resignation as a member of your association, and, in doing so, I would simply state that the reasons which impel me to such a course are to be found in the *preamble and resolutions* lately enacted by your body. I cannot lend my aid to or countenance any movement that casts reflections or imputations upon the *Executive of the United States*.

“‘I am also of the opinion that *political military organizations* are antagonistic to the true principles of a republican government.

“‘Very respectfully,

“‘TYLER POWELL,
“‘*First Lieutenant, N. V.’*”

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. That expresses the reasons of your withdrawal as well as you can now?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you stated all that you know upon the subject?

Answer. I believe I have.

Question. Doubtless you have read the sensation articles in the newspapers about wars and rumors of wars?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And you have no knowledge of them?

Answer. No, sir; no personal knowledge; nothing more than the rumors in the papers.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. You said that Dr. Boyle spoke to you of a secret organization?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What was it that he said about it?

Answer. If my memory serves me right, Dr. Boyle remarked that he had been invited to join an association, or that there was an association in existence, which met at Temperance Hall, and which was composed of some of the first men in town.

Question. Did he say that it was a secret association, or that it held secret meetings?

Answer. The impression left upon my mind was that it was a southern secret association.

Question. Did he state to any extent its object?

Answer. He did not. I believe he stated to me that he did not know what their objects were, and for that reason he declined going with it, without knowing anything of its objects.

Question. Did you learn from him who communicated that fact to him?

Answer. I did not.

Question. Did he ask you to join?

Answer. He did not.

Question. What did he say in respect to it?

Answer. The conversation arose somewhat in this way: Immediately after the election there were two or three meetings of the National Volunteers held. But the attendance was very slim; there seemed to be no interest taken, and by common consent the meetings were stopped at that time, with the understanding that the captain should call them together when he should think proper to do so. And during this interval Dr. Boyle was desirous of knowing whether or not the volunteers would be reorganized; and, in conversation about that, he stated that he had been invited to join such an association; but he did not know whether he should join them or not, because he wanted to remain with the National Volunteers if they continued in existence.

Question. Did he intimate that whether he joined them or not would depend upon the National Volunteers continuing in existence?

Answer. No, sir; not exactly that. He objected to join a secret political association, because he did not know the objects of it?

Question. Were you present when these resolutions were adopted?

Answer. I was. I did not resign until the second meeting after.

Question. Were they adopted with unanimity?

Answer. Yes, sir. There was one gentleman who objected, and desired to oppose the resolutions, but he was cried down and booted at.

Question. How large was the meeting at which they were adopted?

Answer. Well, judging from recollection, without having counted them, I should suppose there were between one hundred and fifty and two hundred present.

Answer. Were they adopted at the same meeting they were offered?

Answer. They were.

Question. Were they matters of discussion?

Answer. The gentleman I allude to objected to them, and then two other gentlemen took the floor—Mr. Washington and Dr. Boyle—and they spoke in favor of the resolutions. I believe that was the only debate upon them.

Question. Who was the gentleman who objected to them?

Answer. Mr. Rae—John Rae, I believe his name is; he is commonly called Jack Rae among his friends.

Question. Is he still a member?

Answer. I do not think he has ever resigned by letter. The organization was reconstructed; they elected new officers, captain, lieutenant, and other officers, and also submitted a military constitution, which constitution was signed by such members as desired to connect themselves with the association; and it seemed to be an understood fact that those who did not go up and sign this new constitution were not members of the new organization, and understanding that a number of gentlemen did not think it necessary to resign formally.

Question. Do you know who prepared that military constitution?

Answer. I am under the impression that it was Mr. Charles H. Winder, of this city.

Question. What did you understand the resolution pledged the organization to, in the event that Maryland and Virginia should secede?

Answer. Well, my impression was that they would cast their lot with Maryland or Virginia, and as a military organization I supposed that they would be under the control of either Maryland or Virginia; probably Maryland.

Question. Subjecting themselves to the orders of the authorities of Maryland?

Answer. That was my impression.

Question. And in the event that Maryland should attempt to assert jurisdiction over this District, as against the United States, did you consider these resolutions as pledging that organization to aid Maryland in that undertaking as against the United States?

Answer. That I could not say; I could not say whether they would do so or not. I never heard an expression of opinion upon that question.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. You say that but one gentleman opposed these resolutions?

Answer. Only one member of the association.

Question. What State was he from?

Answer. I think he was from Georgia; he is a clerk, I believe, in

the city post office, but I will not be sure of that. I know the gentleman very well.

Question. You are quite sure he is a citizen of Georgia?

Answer. Yes, sir; I think so

Question. Do you remember what reasons he gave for opposing the resolutions?

Answer. He said that it was an attack upon the Executive of the United States, and he went on to speak of his being a Union man, and that he would prefer to see the Union cemented together, rather than broken into fragments; and he was therefore opposed to any such resolutions.

Question. He opposed the resolutions because he regarded them as an attack upon the administration, I understand you to say?

Answer. I could not speak of his opinion.

Question. I mean what he said there. You understood him as opposing the resolutions on the ground that they were an attack upon the administration?

Answer. Yes, sir; and also that it would be more becoming in the association to do something to save the Union, rather than pass such resolutions, declaring that the government was virtually in the hands of a military dictator, who would use brute force to coerce sovereign States.

Question. You were present?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You did not oppose them?

Answer. No, sir; I did not. I remained silent, for this reason: I have always held a good position in the association, and have always been treated with respect, and when I saw the treatment that Mr. Rae received at the hands of the members—that he was hooted at, and greeted with cries of “down, down,” and “put him out, put him out,” &c.—I did not desire to subject myself to that annoyance. For that reason I preferred to leave the association and resign, without opposing the resolutions, as I saw it was useless to do so.

Question. Were these resolutions published in the papers here by order of the association?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. On whose motion?

Answer. On my own motion.

Question. Did anybody make any objection to the publication of the resolutions?

Answer. No, sir; except to their being published in the Star; I believe that was the only objection made.

Question. That was on account of the course the reporter of the Star had pursued towards the association before?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. There was no objection made to their being published in the other papers?

Answer. No, sir; not that I remember.

Question. It appears from this paper [the Star] that I hold in my hand that your resignation was not accepted by the meeting, but that

they ordered it to be returned to you, and your name stricken from the roll. Is that a true account?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Upon what ground did they refuse to receive your resignation?

Answer. They gave no reasons at all. But since that time gentlemen have stated to me privately that they believed it was done because there was objectionable language in the resignation. Such was not stated to me at the time, or I would have removed the objectionable language from the letter, as I had no desire to say anything that would be regarded as objectionable.

Question. Do you know what particular part of your letter was regarded as casting imputations upon them?

Answer. They stated that there was no reflection intended upon the President by their resolutions, and that that part of the letter was objectionable to the association; I believe that was the only reason I heard; that was given to me by a gentleman in his individual capacity, and not by the association. I would state that on the night the resolutions passed some members of the association said it was not a reflection upon the President; and the gentleman who objected to the resolutions asked what was meant by the language of the resolutions; and I think that Dr. Garnett said that it was not a reflection upon the President, but upon General Scott; and Mr. Rae told them that he could not reflect upon General Scott in his present capacity without a reflection upon the President.

Question. Then the opposition and disaffection to these resolutions related mainly, if not wholly, to the fact that the resolutions reflected upon the President of the United States and his administration?

Answer. Yes, sir; and also that Mr. Rae thought that they should do something to cement the Union, instead of trying to dissolve it.

Question. Did you attend any other meeting of the association after that?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Did you participate in its proceedings?

Answer. I did. Allow me to explain why I did so. I had the promise of some gentlemen that these resolutions should be expunged from the records of the association; and upon that promise I attended the meeting.

Question. Did either yourself or others move to expunge these resolutions?

Answer. No, sir; not by direct motion. Other resolutions were offered—two series of them—to be adopted in place of these. And then a third series of resolutions were offered explanatory of these resolutions, to the effect that they desired a settlement of this question upon the Crittenden resolutions.

Question. Were they adopted?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. A resolution declaring that the association desired a settlement of our political troubles by the adoption of the Crittenden resolutions?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Did you then, or do you now, regard these resolutions as pledging the National Volunteers, either collectively or individually, to any unauthorized attack upon the government or its property in this District?

Answer. Not by any means.

Question. Did you show this letter of resignation to any member of the republican party before you sent it to the association?

Answer. I did show it. I have had a great many hot discussions upon that point. There is a gentleman in the Patent Office by the name of Hall, who is spoken of by a great many as a republican; upon what authority I am not aware, other than that he is a subscriber to the New York Tribune. He is a gentleman of considerable talent, and knows a little of almost everything; and as I was not very well posted myself upon newspaper articles, I desired to place that in a proper form, as I supposed there might be occasion to publish it; and I submitted it to him merely to get his opinion upon it in that respect, merely in relation to the wording of it. He gave his opinion; and I was afterwards, before some fifteen or twenty gentlemen, charged with showing it to a black republican; and I received their sneers and bootings on that account, for which I did not care at all.

Question. Was there any remark made to you by this gentleman of the republican party, to whom you showed it, that if you would withdraw from this association it would insure your continuance in office under the next administration?

Answer. Not by any means.

Question. Did you say this gentleman was generally regarded as a member of the republican party?

Answer. He is charged to be by a number of democrats; upon what ground I do not know, except that he takes the Tribune. I never heard that he ever affiliated with any association of the republican party in this city.

Question. I understand you to say that you did not at the time, and you do not now, regard these resolutions as pledging the National Volunteers, either collectively or individually, to any attack upon the government or its property here. Do you know any other fact that would go to show that the object of the volunteers is to make an attack upon the government or its property here?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Do you know any fact that you can place before the committee that would induce you to believe that there is any secret combination or conspiracy, having for its object an attack upon the government or its property here?

Answer. I do not know of any, and I do not believe there is any.

J. TYLER POWELL.

No. 22.

TUESDAY, *February 5, 1861.*

JOHN H. GODDARD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Do you reside in this city?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You are connected with the police department here?

Answer. I am.

Question. Chief of police?

Answer. Yes, sir; chief of police and captain of the auxiliary guard.

Question. How long have you occupied that position?

Answer. I was first appointed chief of the police and captain of the guard in this city in 1842. I was out of office some six years. The last time I came into office was two years the first of July last.

Question. You have charge of all the police of the city, including the auxiliary guard?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Your means of knowing what is going on are pretty good?

Answer. Yes, sir; I think so.

Question. Do you know of any organization in existence here, either secret or open, that has for its object any attack upon any of the public property here, or any resistance to the general government in any shape?

Answer. I do not.

Question. You know of the existence of no such organization?

Answer. I do not.

Question. From your means of information do you believe that it would be possible for one to exist any considerable length of time without your knowing it?

Answer. I think if there was any organization of that kind in the city of Washington I certainly would know something about it.

Question. Have you what is technically called "detective police," or men on that duty?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Do you know whether there is any avowed purpose, or have you ever heard any purpose avowed, on the part of any considerable number of persons here, not in an organized form, to seize the Capitol, or the navy yard, or the arsenal, or any other public property here?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you ever heard threats of that kind?

Answer. I do not know that I ever heard anybody make any threats of that description, about seizing the public property here, such as the arsenal, navy yard, Capitol, or any of the departments. I have heard men drinking, carousing, and such like, advocating secession, and advocating the rights of the south, and some advocating the opposite course, the rights of the republicans. Such things as that are most generally the effusion of liquor. Although they may en-

ertain these sentiments when they are sober, they have too much discretion to give vent to them, except when they are intoxicated. I have heard such things, and have had occasion to interpose to keep men from quarrelling and fighting in the drinking houses. But as to any purpose, or plan, or design of that sort on the part of persons, either organized or individual, I do not think it exists.

Question. You do not believe it exists at all?

Answer. No, sir. This community is like a great many others, divided in opinion and sentiment in relation to the great matter now at issue between the two sections of the country. But I do not think there is any purpose of that kind existing here to commit any overt act against the government in this city.

Question. And no more occasion for mobs than on any other occasion when the excitement runs high?

Answer. It is possible that on an occasion like the inauguration there may be a great many persons here drinking and carousing, and we may have more than the usual number of fights and disorders of that kind, created by the excitement of different parties meeting together. But nothing like an attack upon the national dignity here.

Question. You think there would be fights in the Union rather than against the Union?

Answer. Fights in their cups more than anything else. There would be perhaps persons half drunk who would begin to abuse the President elect and everybody else, and then there would be retaliation and then a general fight, in which we would have to interfere, and it might take a considerable force to quell it. That might happen and might not. But I do not anticipate anything of the kind, although I think it is prudent and necessary to be cautious and prepared for any emergency.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. You have heard rumors about, have you not, of some contemplated aid in this District to be rendered those who desire to take the Capitol?

Answer. Well, I have heard it talked of, and seen it in the newspapers about contemplated forces coming from outside the District—from Virginia for instance—and that they expected to have a great many friends here.

Question. Have you heard rumors of an organization existing here to render aid in such an attempt?

Answer. I cannot say that I have heard of such an organization. I have heard that it was assumed by the opposed party that the National Volunteers were formed for that purpose.

Question. Have you taken any measures as captain of the police to ascertain whether there did exist any such organization in the city?

Answer. I have; every means in my power.

Question. What inquiries have you made?

Answer. To ascertain where these meetings of the National Volunteers were held, and what their purposes were.

Question. Have you detached any portion of your police, and charged them with the duty to investigate and ascertain whether

there were such organizations, and if they held their meetings in this District?

Answer. I have not made it the especial duty of any one, because I have ascertained that that was all unfounded.

Question. In what way did you discover that that was unfounded?

Answer. By talking with persons, and going myself where they said there were meetings, and finding that there were no such meetings.

Question. At what places have you been?

Answer. There is a place called Northern Liberties, away up in the borders of the city, near the corner of 10th and M streets, where I was told there were some secret meetings. I found out that they were meetings I had myself ordered—meetings of colored people to whom I had given a permit to hold meetings there.

Question. Did you ever attend any meetings at Temperance Hall?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Did you ever send a policeman there?

Answer. On one or two occasions I have sent one or two men there for the purpose of keeping order.

Question. Have you ascertained through them what was the character of those meetings?

Answer. Meetings for public discussion.

Question. Who were the managers of the meeting?

Answer. I do not know; if I had anticipated any question upon that point I would have ascertained. There used to be some meetings there last summer of persons to get up tournaments and the like.

Question. You have not discovered in any of these meetings any evidence of any conspiracy?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you been there to any meeting during the last month or two?

Answer. No, sir; but I have understood they were mostly for military organization—what are called Union meetings.

Question. Have you ascertained who managed those meetings, so that you could be able to communicate their names to us?

Answer. Only by seeing them in the papers.

Question. Can you tell me any person of whom you have made inquiry as to the existence of such a conspiracy or such an organization in this city?

Answer. I have talked with many persons among my own men, with my lieutenant; but I have never had the most distant idea that there was any such thing going on that would require any inquiry of the kind into it.

Question. I suppose it is so, and I think it is so in fact; but I want to ascertain whether you know that such a thing does not exist; I am not seeking for it, but merely to satisfy myself that it does not exist; so I would be glad if you would tell me the persons of whom you have made such an inquiry?

Answer. I have talked upon the subject with a Mr. Duvall, who used to be what is called the janitor of the building—who used to take care of the building.

Question. What building is that?

Answer. Temperance Hall.

Question. When have you talked with him about it?

Answer. I think within two months.

Question. Of what other persons about the city have you made inquiry touching the existence of any such organization?

Answer. Well, I talked with Mr. Carrington—Captain Carrington he is now called—about the meetings he was holding there.

Question. What did you learn from Mr. Carrington as to the existence of any such organization?

Answer. That the object of their meetings was to form a military company.

Question. Did you ascertain the purpose of forming their company at this time?

Answer. I suppose at the off-start they were for political purposes more than for any substantial military organization. But since that time I have been informed that they were intending to continue their existence, and form a regular military volunteer company—a uniformed company.

Question. Did you make any such inquiry of Dr. Boyle?

Answer. Well, sir, Dr. Boyle was so recently elected the captain of his company of National Volunteers that I had no idea that he would join any such military company; because he is a man that is lame, and I did not suppose that he would suit for an officer. I was in company with him night before last; but I did not make any inquiry about his military company, because I thought it would be so ridiculous, and I would not joke him about it.

Question. Did he allude to his having been before this committee?

Answer. No, sir; I had heard of his having been here. We were talking then about the United States troops coming here.

Question. You did not ask him about his organization?

Answer. No, sir; I thought I knew pretty much all about his organization, because I had inquired of other persons who had been there.

Question. Did you inquire of Dr. Garnett about it?

Answer. No, sir; I saw an account in the paper of his having been elected surgeon of the company, and knowing him to be a son-in-law of Governor Wise, of Virginia, I supposed it would be very natural for him to join such a company—that is, a company on the democratic side; the other one, I believe, is on the republican side. I told Mr. Carrington, yesterday, that I thought all these companies were for political purposes, looking beyond the 4th of March.

Question. Has your notice been called to any resolutions adopted by the National Volunteers, and published in the newspapers, as to what they intended to do in a certain contingency?

Answer. No, sir; I do not recollect of any.

Question. And you have not been led to make any inquiries of any one as to the purposes of that organization?

Answer. Yes, sir; I have talked with some of the members about it.

Question. Can you give us the names of any of them?

Answer. I have talked with one man in my office—a Mr. Thornton—who was one of them.

Question. How many of your men do you think belong to it?

Answer. As near as I can ascertain, I think there are some seven or eight of them.

Question. Have you instituted any inquiry throughout your police force to ascertain whether they are loyal to the government?

Answer. I have had frequent conversations with numbers of them in relation to the issues pending now, and I do not think there is a man of them but what will defend the government against any attack.

Question. Suppose that Maryland should secede, and attempt to assert jurisdiction over this District as against the United States, have you satisfied yourself whether your police would help the United States to defend its property, or help the State of Maryland to assert her jurisdiction over the District as against the United States?

Mr. BRANCH objected to the question as going beyond the line of inquiry proper for the committee to pursue.

After discussion, the question was propounded to the witness by Mr. Dawes in this form:

Question. Have you satisfied yourself, from investigation, what your police would do in the event that Maryland should attempt to secede and assert jurisdiction over this District as against the United States?

Answer. I can answer that question in this way: During this whole crisis, as it is called, we have had frequent conversations, or they can hardly be called conversations, for they have listened to me talking. Sometimes one of the lieutenants would talk to me in the presence of the men, and sometimes some of them would join in. We would talk about the position this District occupied towards the government, and towards the other States, and what would be our duty, and what would be expected of us in certain contingencies. I am one of those persons who go against secession strong, and I have expressed my views to the men. Most of them, if not all, have taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and they would be expected to stand by the government as long as there was any government. In case of the secession of Maryland, then the question would arise whether this District would naturally go back to Maryland in the position it was in before its cession to the United States, and whether they should not rightly be a party to that transfer; that we were not a flock of sheep to be transferred by the mere will of others, but that we ought to have a say in it, and would have a say in it; and that it would be for the people of the District of Columbia to say whether they would go back or not in a contingency of that kind; and unless the thing was amicably settled, it would be our duty to stand by the government of the United States.

Question. That was the way you expressed yourself?

Answer. Yes, sir; more than twenty times; that of all people in the United States we were the most interested in the perpetuity of the Union.

Question. Have you found your police agreeing with your views?

Answer. They would have their ideas, and their way of expressing themselves in case such and such a thing should take place—in case there was a peaceable secession, and this District went with the southern or with the northern confederacy.

Question. In case of a conflict between the authorities of Maryland and the United States over this District as to who should have it, did you get from your police their views upon that subject?

Answer. I do not know that I ever had that question put to them; I do not know that I ever did present that question directly; but I had a conversation with one of my lieutenants some time ago in relation to matters, as to what we might be expected to do on the 4th of March. And I said I wanted to know of him the opinions of the men, for, if there was any fighting to be done, I did not want to be standing by the side of a man who would shoot me as quick as he would any one else; and that if there was any such man as that I wanted him to resign, and let me know it, for I did not want any man under me serving two masters.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. You are tolerably well acquainted, I suppose, with the general sentiment of the people of this District?

Answer. I think I am as much so as any other man.

Question. Do you think they are generally favorable to the preservation of the Union, or unfavorable to it?

Answer. I think a large majority are in favor of the preservation of the Union.

Question. Do you think that, with the power now possessed by you and by the mayor of the city under the law, with such aid as you could get from the President through the militia of the District, you would be amply able to take care of the public property here from now until the 4th of March?

Answer. I think so.

Question. Have the companies of the regular army been sent here with your advice, or, so far as you know, with the advice and wish of the mayor of this city?

Answer. I think not. I can speak for myself; I have had nothing to say or do in it; and, from conversations with the mayor, I do not think he has.

Question. You have no doubt that, with the means within the District and within your reach, you could make the government entirely secure?

Answer. That is my impression; for I have no idea that there is any danger to be feared here, unless it comes unexpectedly from abroad.

Question. Suppose it did come unexpectedly from abroad, if it did not come in extraordinary force, would you still be able to protect the government?

Answer. I think the whole mass of the people would turn out to defend it.

Question. What length of experience have you had in connexion with the police affairs of this city?

Answer. I have been justice of the peace since January, 1842; and shortly after the auxiliary guard was established, during Mr. Tyler's administration, I was made captain of it.

Question. Then for nearly 20 years you have been connected with the preservation of the peace of this District?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What is your age?

Answer. I am in my sixty-second year.

By Mr. REYNOLDS :

Question. Your opinion as to your ability to defend this District depends upon the force that may attack it?

Answer. Yes, sir ; and the aid I can receive from the President and the military organization of this District.

Question. Your idea is that there is no danger?

Answer. No danger existing here. On the occasion of the inauguration of the President there is always an additional police force appointed by the city, but not heretofore by the government, I believe.

Question. You do not mean to be understood as saying that your police force and this aid you could receive would be sufficient to defend the public property here from a large force?

Answer. Not from any large force.

Question. Then the extent of your ability to defend depends upon whether the city is attacked by any considerable force?

Answer. By any considerable force ; yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. The sufficiency of your police, so far as regards the dangers that you anticipate, relates to matters inside the city, that is, the people of the city?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. It has no reference to an invading force?

Answer. I cannot say what may come from outside and abroad.

Question. Have you heard any threats on the part of any persons to resist by force the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln?

Answer. No, sir ; I have not.

Question. Have you heard any talk about it, any more than in a loose way?

Answer. That is all ; that such a thing might be done ; that the people from abroad might interpose and put down the inauguration.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. What amount of force do you think that the President could call into service in this District, all true and loyal men, devoted to the Union and attached to the government, and whose services could be relied upon in behalf of the government?

Answer. In Georgetown and Washington, I should suppose, he might get into service in a very few days, or in a week's time, some 4,000 men. There are more militia than that, but it is difficult to get them out.

Question. You think he could get that many?

Answer. Yes, sir. It seems to me that if there was any danger of an attack from abroad the people here would turn out not less than 4,000.

Question. Do you reckon the National Volunteers among that number?

Answer. Well, I believe they would turn out.

Question. Do you count them with the others?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And you would rely upon them as a part of the force to defend this city against any attack?

Answer. Yes, sir; that is their professed object, and that of the Union Volunteers, and all those companies.

J. H. GODDARD.

No. 23.

TUESDAY, *February 5*, 1861.

CYPRIANO FERRANDINI sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?

Answer. I reside in Baltimore. My place of business is under Barnum's Hotel.

Question. How long have you lived there?

Answer. I have lived there sixteen years.

Question. Have you lived there all the time during those sixteen years?

Answer. Yes, sir, except a little trip I took to Mexico last winter.

Question. Were you in Mexico during the Mexican war?

Answer. No, sir, not during the Mexican war; I was there last winter. I went into Juarez's army; I had a commission in that army.

Question. Did you belong to his army?

Answer. I did, for three months only; I then resigned and came back home.

Question. You held a commission in the army there?

Answer. I did.

Question. What was it?

Answer. Captain of infantry.

Question. Have you ever been a teacher of infantry tactics, or any other military drill?

Answer. Not professionally so; I have taught it in companies that I was connected with in the State of Maryland.

Question. That is, you have had charge of the drillings of companies?

Answer. Yes, sir; I was at one time commanding the Lafayette Guards, a company in Baltimore.

Question. Was that some time ago?

Answer. I resigned there three years ago.

Question. Have you been engaged in drilling any company lately?

Answer. I have.

Question. What is the name of the company?

Answer. The Constitutional Guards.

Question. Of how many does the company consist?

Answer. They told me, when I joined it, that it consisted of forty men, but I have never seen more than fifteen or sixteen there at any time.

Question. Are you hired to drill them?

Answer. No, sir; I do it voluntarily.

Question. Where are you drilling this company; in a drill-room?

Answer. In a drill-room or headquarters. They have adjourned now to the headquarters of the National Volunteers, and drill there.

Question. What do you mean by the National Volunteers? Is it a company or a regiment?

Answer. It was formerly a political association; they are now drilling as a military volunteer corps.

Question. In Baltimore?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Is it similar to the one in this city of the same name, or have you any knowledge about the one in this city?

Answer. I have no knowledge of any one in this city.

Question. There is a company of that name here, and I did not know but what the two were associated together in some way.

Answer. Not that I know of.

Question. Do you know the number of volunteer companies in Baltimore?

Answer. No, sir; I do not. They only formed last Saturday for the purposes of drilling. They have existed since the election, and also previous to the election, as a political society; but not as a military corps until last Saturday.

Question. Have they got their arms?

Answer. No, sir; they are going through the school of soldiery, and have no arms in their possession.

Question. Do you know what immediate purpose this company that you are drilling has in view?

Answer. I do not know as it has any particularly, except that they are forming to protect their State, the same as any other military company, I suppose, under the orders of the State of Maryland.

Question. Are they regularly organized under the laws of Maryland?

Answer. Not yet; they are only now formed. They have no officers elected, no one but instructors.

Question. It is simply, thus far, so many individuals who assemble together to drill?

Answer. Yes, sir; last night was the first night that the National Volunteers came in line to drill. They were formed, enrolled, last Saturday.

Question. How long have you been drilling this company you spoke of?

Answer. About a month.

Question. Do you know whether it is the intention of the company to attend the inauguration here?

Answer. No, sir ; they do not intend to do so ; not as a body.

Question. Do you know whether it is the intention of any of those persons to prevent the inauguration ?

Answer. No, sir ; they have no such intention. There is nothing connected with the city of Baltimore that has any intention of that sort. If there was one I should know it. They are formed for this purpose : to prevent northern volunteer companies from passing through the State of Maryland. They do not wish to come themselves, and do not wish any other volunteers to come for that purpose.

By Mr. DAWES.

Question. They are drilling for that purpose ?

Answer. Not only that one, but several other companies have the same purpose.

By the CHAIRMAN.

Question. Do you know of the existence of any organization, any military company, or any secret society, or of any understanding among individuals, that has for its object the prevention of the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln on the 4th of March ?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Or to prevent his coming through the State of Maryland ?

Answer. No, sir ; none whatever.

Question. But it is simply, as you understand it, to prevent northern volunteer companies from coming through ?

Answer. A northern invasion ; that is about the whole of it.

Question. That is the idea ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; that is the opinion of the men that are drilling.

Question. Has it not always been customary, or for a great many years, for volunteer companies to come here from various sections of the country to attend upon the occasion of an inauguration ?

Answer. No, sir ; it never was heard that a President came here to Washington with a military company to escort him. And it was said that Mr. Lincoln was coming with a volunteer guard, though that was afterwards contradicted by the newspapers.

Question. I do not refer to that. But frequently volunteer companies visit different parts of the country when anything especial is going on, merely for the purpose of display, merely to show themselves. For instance, there have been several companies here during the year ; and that is almost always the case at an inauguration, merely for the purpose of display.

Answer. At this present time, with all the excitement that there is, I think those companies ought to come the same as the people come, or stay at home.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. Your purpose is to keep them away, in the shape of companies, as a peace measure ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. To prevent the effusion of blood ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. COCHRANE:

Question. Does the purpose of your company refer to men coming here peaceably, or to men coming with arms in their hands?

Answer. To men with arms in their hands.

Question. Not to peaceable citizens coming in companies or separately, but to those who come with arms in their hands?

Answer. Yes, sir, that is all; to companies with arms in their hands.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. You are willing they should come, if they come in a manner agreeable to the wishes of the citizens of Maryland?

Answer. Certainly.

Question. Have the people of Maryland, or any organization in Maryland, suggested in any public way in what manner they would be willing to have people come through Maryland?

Answer. I do not know as there is any resolution of that sort. I speak merely the sentiments of the company. There is no oath, or obligation, or privacy, or anything of the sort. The drill-room is open.

Question. You say their purpose is to prevent volunteer companies from coming here, as such, to attend the inauguration. In answer to Mr. Cochrane, you say they do not object to their coming, if they do not come with arms in their hands. I inquired if the people of Maryland have signified to them in what particular way they would be willing to have them come here?

Answer. I could not say as to that.

Question. I mean those of the people of Maryland with whom you act?

Answer. Those with whom I act are certainly opposed to any body of men passing through Maryland to come here to help the United States troops, or anybody else, to invade the south in any shape or form whatever.

Question. I speak of attending the inauguration?

Answer. Their object is not to allow any organized military company to pass through—that is, any volunteer company; not the United States troops.

Question. Have the association with whom you act intimated in what way they will be willing to permit them to come?

Answer. That is the only way I have ever heard them express any opinion.

Question. Have you given any notice that they must come in any particular way, or that they must not?

Answer. No, sir; they have not given any notice.

Question. Is it the intention of your organization to resist their coming?

Answer. I do not know as it is the intention particularly of our organization. I say that it is the sentiment of all. They may change that sentiment when that time comes.

Question. Do you mean that it is the sentiment of the people of

Maryland generally that the people of the north shall not be permitted to attend the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln in a particular way?

Answer. With arms, as military men. They can come as individuals, as they ordinarily come.

Question. Have you ever known military companies to come, as military companies, to attend inaugurations here?

Answer. Yes, sir; I have seen them.

Question. Have you ever known the people of Maryland to make any opposition to their visiting here in such a manner?

Answer. No, sir; I never did.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Do you suppose it to be the purpose of those men that are drilling, to resist the passage through the State of Maryland of any volunteer companies with arms in their hands?—I mean, for them, merely as citizens, or to aid the State of Maryland to oppose them?

Answer. If the authorities of Washington called for the militia, for instance, of New York or Pennsylvania, or any other northern State, to come here, they certainly will be repulsed in Maryland.

Question. Will they be repulsed under the authorities of the State of Maryland, or merely by the citizens voluntarily?

Answer. That I do not know. I do not think that will be done by the authority of the State, because, from the opinion of Mr. Hicks at the present time, I do not think there will be any danger of that sort.

Question. Now, by way of understanding your meaning, suppose that the President of the United States, Mr. Buchanan, should issue his proclamation calling for volunteers from Pennsylvania to aid in defending the Capitol, and one or more companies should attempt to pass through Maryland in obedience to his proclamation; and suppose that the governor of Maryland should say nothing about it, neither forbid it nor grant it, would the company that you are drilling feel called upon to turn out to resist them?

Answer. The sentiments of my company are pretty much the sentiments of the whole of Maryland.

Question. That is what I want to get at.

Answer. I think they would act on that occasion.

Question. Act as against the United States?

Answer. They would repulse any volunteer company coming through Maryland, ordered in whatever form it might be.

Question. Do you think they would repulse any volunteer company coming here on the call of the United States, and without direction from the authorities of the State of Maryland to repulse them?

Answer. That I do not know.

Question. I mean, would they repulse them, on their own responsibility?

Answer. I do not know about that; I cannot say whether they would or not; I am not at liberty to state anything but my own feelings; I cannot state their sentiments as far as that is concerned.

Question. You have stated that you did not think that Governor Hicks would call upon these companies to repulse volunteer companies passing through?

Answer. No, sir; I do not think he would.

Question. Still, if he did not, you think they would repulse them?

Answer. That might be by the sentiment of Maryland; if every person in Maryland felt like I do they would.

Question. As far as you are concerned, you are of that opinion?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Does this opinion arise on your part from the conviction that the authorities of the United States have not a right to call for volunteers to defend their own property?

Answer. No, sir; I only think there would be blood shed, which otherwise would not be.

Question. Do you think it would be better to give up the property than to have blood shed?

Answer. No, sir; I do not think there would be any attack made upon it.

Question. You feel sure of that?

Answer. I am perfectly certain there will not be.

Question. You think there is nobody in Maryland to do it?

Answer. There is nobody in Maryland that would take it or attempt to take it; but as I said if a force should come, then the people of Maryland would certainly rise in defence of their own State, which otherwise they would not do.

Question. That is to prevent people coming through their State with arms?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. They would do that in defence of the south?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you heard of any property of the United States being taken lately in any of the southern States?

Answer. None but what I see in the papers.

Question. You suppose that those statements are substantially correct in regard to some of the forts and navy yards being taken?

Answer. I suppose it is; I have read it but I do not pass any opinion in regard to it.

Question. Perhaps this is rather wandering from the inquiry; the object is to get at the real purpose these men have that are drilling; if their purpose is lawful, of course that need not concern us; if they are unlawful, they might concern us, and perhaps I ought to confine the inquiries more particularly to them. Have you any idea how many companies are drilling in Baltimore?

Answer. No, sir; I have heard that the Minute Men have 15 companies.

Question. What are they? Are they anything different from the National Volunteers, so far as you know?

Answer. I do not know what their object is; they have asked me to drill company C, but I was engaged to drill this company, and so I declined.

Question. Do you know when these Minute Men were organized?

Answer. They organized themselves during the election. They are Bell and Everett men, or they were formerly.

Question. In politics they were Bell and Everett men?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You have heard it said there were fifteen companies of them?

Answer. I have heard so; yes, sir.

Question. Do you know how large the companies are?

Answer. They told me there were from forty to fifty in each company.

Question. What do you understand to be their purposes, or have you heard them?

Answer. I have not heard, except the sentiment I have just now given.

Question. You mean to resist the passage of military companies from the north?

Answer. To resist anything of that description that may come.

Question. Do you think they have it in contemplation to seize the Capitol if Maryland should secede?

Answer. No, sir; they have not. They have nothing in contemplation of that sort. They do not think of Maryland seceding, not unless Virginia secedes. If Virginia goes, then Maryland goes with her. That is the sentiment of the people in general, I believe.

Question. Suppose Virginia and Maryland should secede, is it the sentiment that the Capitol would belong to Maryland then?

Answer. They expect to pay for it.

Question. To buy it?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Suppose it could not be sold?

Answer. Their intention is to buy it.

Question. And in order to make sure of buying it, do you think they would consider it necessary to seize it first?

Answer. No, sir; I have not heard anything of the sort.

Question. You have heard no such sentiment expressed?

Answer. No, sir; nothing of that sort. Whenever they will do anything of that sort, they will not do it privately; they will do it publicly.

Question. This company that you are engaged in drilling drill mostly evenings, I suppose?

Answer. Yes, sir; we have no time to drill in the daytime.

Question. Did I understand you to say that the drilling was done with open doors, so that everybody could go in whenever they pleased?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Is there any drilling done, or has there been, with the doors closed and a guard at the door?

Answer. No, sir; the National Volunteers have never drilled but one night.

Question. I mean the company you have been drilling for a month?

Answer. We drill in another company's armory, and we have never had any guard at the door.

Question. Where was it; in the third story?

Answer. No, sir; it was the first floor above; it might be called the second story.

Question. And no guard at the door, and nobody excluded?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. It was company C of the Minute Men that requested you to drill them?

Answer. Yes, sir; I think it was the company C; so I was told. I did not pay much attention to it, because I had no inclination to drill them.

Question. You were already engaged?

Answer. Yes, sir.

C. FERRANDINI.

No. 24.

TUESDAY, *February 5*, 1861.

CHARLES G. WAGNER sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Do you reside in this city?

Answer. I have been residing here for nearly a year past.

Question. Have you never resided here before?

Answer. Yes, sir; I resided here from the latter part of 1853, I think, to 1857, during General Pierce's administration.

Question. Were you connected with one of the departments?

Answer. I was here in the Pension bureau from 1853 to 1857. I then went out, and was register of the land office in Minnesota. I resigned and was called in last February. My last engagement with the government was as chief clerk of the Census bureau; and I resigned that place some time in December last, upon the secession of my State—the 21st or 25th of December, I do not know which.

Question. Do you know of the existence of any secret or open organization here that has for its object any violent interference with the operations of the government?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Either military or civil?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you ever heard any talk of such a thing, except common rumor?

Answer. I have heard it talked of through the streets.

Question. I do not now allude to sensation articles that appear in the papers; but have you heard individuals talk about it, and speak of it as an existing fact?

Answer. Well, I have had many private conversations with gentlemen of my own section, confidential conversations, relative to the present state of the times and the course of this administration, which, of course, you would not ask me to state. They are matters which belong entirely to my own section.

Question. To what do you refer as your section?

Answer. To the south altogether, and my own State, and the cotton States.

Question. Which is your State?

Answer. South Carolina. I have held, and still hold, confidential relations with that State. I am connected with Colonel Hayne here. I have had many conversations with leading gentlemen of the south. I have had the good fortune to be in a position where I have had many conversations with them; but, of course, that is a matter you do not desire me to go into.

Mr. REYNOLDS. If it refers to this inquiry, it would be very proper that we should have it.

The CHAIRMAN. It would depend altogether upon what it was. For instance, an ordinary confidential relation, that does not relate to the subject of inquiry, we would not solicit information about if we could.

The WITNESS. I am perfectly free to state anything I know. I am one of those gentlemen that whatever I do the sun can shine upon.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Do you know of any considerable number of military companies called the Minute Men?

Answer. In this city?

Question. In or out of the city.

Answer. I do not; nothing more than what I have seen in the papers.

Question. Do you know the purpose of any one company?

Answer. I do not. I have not been in any connexion with them in any shape or form.

Question. And you have no knowledge of them except what you derive from the public prints?

Answer. None at all.

Question. Have you any actual knowledge of an association called the K. G. Cs.?

Answer. I have not.

Question. You do not know whether such an association exists or not?

Answer. No, sir; I know nothing more about it than what I have seen in the papers, and I have not felt interest enough in it to ask about it.

Question. You state that you have no knowledge upon this subject except what you have of a private and confidential character. Can you state what you mean, in general terms, by confidential relations? The object of the question is to see whether they are exclusively out of the reach of proper inquiry.

Answer. I will state distinctly that they have no connexion at all with the subject which I understand you are upon—a conspiracy against this government, or against this city. I know nothing of any such thing. My conversations have been of an entirely different character.

Question. They have related, I presume, to plans for securing redress for what was believed to be southern grievances?

Answer. Precisely.

Question. Have any of them related to any plan of operation?

Answer. I have never had any conversation with anybody about plans. What I allude to is conversations with gentlemen, not in regard to any settled plan at all of any kind or character; nothing more than a general, loose conversation upon the subject of the day, which would naturally occur upon gentlemen meeting together, upon which I would give my opinion, and another would give his opinion.

Question. Rather suggestions than plans?

Answer. Yes, sir. I have given my own opinions very freely; I have not hid them. I have got my own opinions, and I have expressed them.

Question. Have you heard discussed the subject of preventing Mr. Lincoln's inauguration?—I mean, preventing it by force. Have you heard that subject discussed freely?

Answer. Yes, sir; we have heard that all around. I have discussed it myself, and given my opinion as an individual.

Question. You know of no concentrated opinion or plan in reference to it?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Have you heard, in the circle of your friends, opinions expressed upon that subject?

Answer. I have.

Question. Many dissenting from suggestions made?

Answer. Precisely; some differing from the suggestions of my own mind that I have given at times in the hotel and in private rooms.

Question. Wherever you happened to meet?

Answer. Yes, sir; without any idea as to a plan of any kind.

Question. Have you heard like suggestions with regard to seizing this city?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Recently?

Answer. No, sir, not very recently; not since my State went out, because, so far as my State is concerned, I owe my allegiance to her, and am ready to obey her behest. I do not know that she has anything of the kind in contemplation.

Question. All suggestions coming from you since that time would naturally resolve themselves into State action?

Answer. Entirely the action of the State. I do not suppose that my State has any such idea; at least I have not. Mine are mere opinions, like those of any citizen.

Question. If you were called upon to propose any plan in connexion with any such subject, you would not think of doing it outside of the State?

Answer. I would not.

Question. You are a native of South Carolina?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Do you know whether any troops, or volunteers, per-

haps, I ought to say, have been enlisted here in aid of South Carolina as against the government?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. None to go from here to South Carolina to aid them there?

Answer. No, sir; I do not. It would be a very small business, for we have all we want. I have never heard of any such thing. I have seen in the papers tenders of troops, and I know we could get all we want.

Question. Do you know Mr. Ezell, former doorkeeper of the House?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Did you ever hear of his trying to get recruits for that purpose?

Answer. No, sir; I have not. He was a clerk in the Census bureau with me, and since his resignation I have not seen him more than twice. He is not a native of South Carolina, and has been very little in the State, and I have not talked with him at all on the subject.

Question. Perhaps I ought to limit the question, to make it strictly legal, to this: Have you ever heard him say that he was engaged in enlisting?

Question. No, sir; I have not. You need not limit your questions at all, for I am entirely ready to answer them. From what I heard him say, so far from his being engaged in enlisting troops, my mind received an entirely different impression. I advised him myself to resign. I said that as he was claiming to be from South Carolina, I thought he ought to resign. He said he would like to go home the last time I met him since his resignation, but he had not the means of going home. I do not know that he is here now; if he is, I do not know it.

Question. You alluded to some relations between yourself and Colonel Hayne. Did you mean to convey the idea that you had official relations with him, or merely friendly relations?

Answer. Yes, sir, official relations; I am acting as secretary for him.

Question. And it is such information as you may have received from your official relations with him that you deem confidential, and improper to communicate?

Answer. No, sir; it is not so much that. Of course that I should suppose you would not ask me. When I alluded to confidential conversations, I meant those that would occur with, perhaps, yourself, if I were intimate with you.

Question. You would consider it betraying gentlemen's confidence?

Answer. Precisely; nothing more than that confidence which would be the giving out the expressions of opinions as to what A, B, and C, would think or do in this emergency or that that might turn up. Nothing more than the mere suggestions of men's minds. I would be very willing to give my own suggestions; I have not been at all silent or choice in them.

Question. Well, state to some extent your own views.

Answer. They were just these: when, for instance, it was suggested as to preventing the Capitol from falling into the hands of the north,

I have seen it in the papers, and heard it on the streets, that the District of Columbia should never be permitted to go into the hands of the northern confederacy, in case the entire southern States went out. I was perfectly ready to take any part to defend the south in her claims to the District of Columbia. But my own opinion has always been that, until Maryland seceded, no southern State would ever ask for the District. It was one of those reversionary interests, if it reverted at all, it would have to be upon the action of Maryland. It was just in that view of the expression of opinion that would turn up that I allude to. I would prefer to have every gentleman give his own opinion, and not state it myself. I did not mean that there was any concentration of opinion, or any particular purpose.

Question. Have you ever heard gentlemen express themselves in a way that would lead you to suppose that they regarded it as a duty to prevent the regular operations of the government going on, such as counting the votes, and the inauguration of the President, unless Maryland had seceded?

Answer. I have never heard any suggestion as to that. I have heard men chat over the subject; some one would ask the question, how would they get over it in case there is not a governor, but never as to any violent preventing it.

Question. That is, that senators and representatives might absent themselves?

Answer. Precisely; and in that event, it was asked, what would you do. It was a mere matter of opinion.

Question. You have never heard discussed the subject of a violent attack?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Unless Maryland seceded?

Answer. Never heard even that, so far as the counting the votes was concerned.

Question. You have stated very frankly your own view, or your own position; that you would have been ready in any suitable way, such as taking up arms, or anything of that kind, to defend the rights of the south growing out of the secession of Maryland, and this reversionary interest being in controversy. Have you ever heard any considerable number of responsible persons express any view that they entertained that went beyond that, as against the United States?

Answer. No, sir; I have had but very little conversation about it. My circle is an exceedingly limited one; I never attend any meetings or anything of the kind; I have never taken any lot or share in any District movements since I have resided in Washington. My social circle is exceedingly limited. I have seen notices in the newspapers for meetings for volunteers, all of which have been perfectly idle winds to me; I have never paid any attention to them, or been to any of them, or asked about them. They were matters that did not concern me at all. With the exception of a very few social acquaintances, my time is spent with my family.

Question. Your family is here?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Are you still connected with the Census bureau?

Answer. No, sir ; I resigned in December last, as soon as my State went out—somewhere along the 23d or 24th of December ; I went out about the same day that our members did ; either the same day or the day after.

Question. You have never belonged to any of these military organizations?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Nor to any other organization here?

Answer. No, sir

Question. Nor had any knowledge of them in any shape?

Answer. No, sir ; except from the public prints.

Question. You have spoken of this reversionary interest following the secession of Maryland. Did you confine that opinion in any particular conversations with other gentlemen, and, so far as they indicated their opinions, did they confine them to the mere question of jurisdiction, or does the opinion go to the very title of the property that the government owns here? Would this reversionary interest extend to the soil that the government has bought?

Answer. That is my opinion ; I give it as the opinion of a lawyer, for that is my profession.

Question. That the government would be incapable of holding any property here?

Answer. I take it so ; I look at it like one of those things where the object of the grant ceases it reverts to the grantor. I take it that the grant was for the purpose of the capital of the federal government.

Question. You do it then upon the principle of confiscation?

Answer. I do it upon the principle of the entire failure of the government.

Question. That would apply as readily to money as to any property?

Answer. I am one of those that want to have an equal division ; to do justice to all sides.

Question. You have told all you know in regard to the object of inquiry?

Answer. Yes, sir.

CHS. WAGNER.

No. 25.

WEDNESDAY, *February 6, 1861.*

O. K. HILLARD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?

Answer. I reside in Baltimore now.

Question. Have you long resided there?

Answer. For the last six weeks.

Question. Had you never lived there before?

Answer. I lived there nineteen years at one time.

Question. How long had you been absent from Baltimore previous to your returning this time?

Answer. I reckon I was in New York for seven years.

Question. For the last seven years?

Answer. Not exactly the last seven years. I have been travelling south most of my time for two years past; all through the States—the southern States as far as Texas.

Question. But New York was really your home previous to this?

Answer. Previous to my travelling south, New York was my home.

Question. Did you travel through the most of the southern States?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Are you connected with any military organization?

Answer. I am not.

Question. Have you any knowledge or acquaintance with a military organization called the Minute Men?

Answer. No, sir; not the Minute Men. I am not a member myself of any military organization. I was a member of one, but I have resigned.

Question. Of what organization?

Answer. Of the Seventh Regiment of New York National Guards. I resigned, however, three years since.

Question. Have you any knowledge of an organization existing in the United States called the K. G. C.'s?

Answer. I have some knowledge of such an institution.

Question. Did you ever belong to it?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you any knowledge of what their objects are?

Answer. I have not an accurate knowledge; I have an idea what it is for.

Question. Based upon hearsay, mostly?

Answer. Hearsay, altogether.

Question. What do you understand, according to hearsay, its object to be?

Answer. I thought its object was to aid the liberal government of Mexico; that is what I have always been led to suppose.

Question. A sort of filibustering organization, as we should say?

Answer. Exactly; upon the Nicaragua-Walker principle.

Question. Do you know of the existence anywhere of any organization, secret or open, that has for its object any interruption of the operations of the general government?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Or of any attack upon any portion of the public property; such as the Capitol, the navy yard, the arsenal, or anything of that kind?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Or that contemplates any interruption of the operations of the government in any respect, as, for instance, the inauguration?

Answer. There is an organization in Baltimore city now, having no such purpose as that that I know of; but it is to prevent what is termed Wide-awakes, or any armed body of men, from coming on to

Baltimore with Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln will not be interrupted as a citizen alone, but with an armed body of men he would be.

Question. How extensive is this organization?

Answer. It numbers some six thousand men now, I think.

Question. All in the city of Baltimore?

Answer. All in the city of Baltimore. They are gaining members every day. I do not know the exact position of it now.

Question. Is it a military organization?

Answer. Well, sir, they drill without muskets. I presume they would be supplied with muskets if necessary.

Question. By whom would they be supplied—by the State authorities?

Answer. I do not know who will supply them. I believe, though, that the arms are all ready for them now; but I am not certain. I would not say they were ready; but my belief is that they are.

Question. Of how many companies does the organization consist?

Answer. That I do not know; but there will be quite a number of them. In a body of men of that size there must be at least sixty companies, I suppose, to number six thousand men.

Question. Do you state this number from actual knowledge, or from hearsay only?

Answer. I state this from hearsay, as I am not a member of the organization. Therefore, my knowledge is altogether from hearsay.

Question. How long have they been organizing?

Answer. I think for the last four weeks.

Question. From all that you have heard you state the number to be six thousand; that is, you believe it to be six thousand?

Answer. I should think it was quite six thousand.

Question. You stated that their main purpose was to prevent armed bodies of men coming here with Mr. Lincoln?

Answer. To the best of my knowledge and belief, that is it.

Question. Are you pretty extensively acquainted in Baltimore?

Answer. Yes, sir; I do not suppose there is a man that lives in the city who is better acquainted there than I am.

Question. Have you ever heard any other objects expressed than that you have mentioned?

Answer. Yes, sir; I have. I have heard that one object was to attack Fort M'Henry; but I do not believe that.

Question. That is, you do not believe they will attack it?

Answer. I do not believe that this organization was got up for that purpose. If it was necessary to take Fort M'Henry, it would be done without any organization. Therefore it is not necessary for them to get up a body of men for that purpose; there is no occasion for it at all.

Question. Who is at the head of that organization?

Answer. I do not know who is at the head of it. I expect there are fifty heads of it.

Question. That is, the heads of the different companies who compose it?

Answer. I suppose so; I presume every captain of every company

has something to say in the matter. I do not know that they have elected a general-in-chief yet.

Question. Can you mention any of these heads of companies?

Answer. I had rather not answer that question. I will answer any question concerning myself, but I should dislike to answer the other.

Question. Does this organization extend beyond the city of Baltimore?

Answer. I think not.

Question. You think it is confined to that city?

Answer. That particular organization is.

Question. Have they adopted any name?

Answer. I think it is National Volunteers.

Question. Do you know any of the men that are connected with it?

Answer. I think I do.

Question. Are there any men in Baltimore that you ever heard say that they were connected with it?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What are their names?

Answer. I would rather not answer that question.

Question. I suspect that is the very question we want answered.

Answer. I do not think I ought to compromise my friends. I will answer anything in connexion with myself individually; and if you will mention some name, and ask me if I know it to be one connected with the organization, I will tell you; but I do not think I should tell you the names I know. It is a very delicate matter, and I do not know what the consequences would be to myself.

The CHAIRMAN. It would seem to be a direct, proper, and legitimate mode of inquiry, in view of what has gone before. The witness states that there is an organization in Baltimore of six thousand men, but he states that he bases that remark upon information, not upon positive knowledge. Then the question was asked: Who is at the head of it? He says there are many heads, perhaps fifty. Who are they? The general statement, proceeding upon information, not knowledge, as explained by the witness. Then the question is put: Have any of these persons told you that they were connected with the organization? This is with the view that if there is importance enough to it, those individuals who have the exact knowledge may be brought here. It strikes me that it may be material to have these names. But I will take the sense of the committee.

Mr. BRANCH. My view of it is this, that there are two inquiries to be made: first, whether the object he supposes this organization to have in view comes legitimately within the line of our inquiry, this object being an attack upon the Wide-awakes, should they attempt to come here armed through the city of Baltimore. The second is, whether the testimony of the witness, being founded altogether on hearsay as to the object of the organization, is sufficient to justify us in demanding the names of persons belonging to the organization. I am not so clear upon the latter point myself. But I am inclined to think that the first inquiry I named would be a bar to anything in that line; that is, the query whether we are authorized by the House to inquire into the existence of an organization to prevent armed

Wide-awakes coming through Baltimore on the occasion of the inauguration, or on any other occasion. According to the witness's own statement the organization has no hostile designs upon the government, or against Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. DAWES. The witness has here disclosed the existence of an armed organization of six thousand men, although the understanding of the witness is that the organization was simply to resist the Wide-awakes coming here to attend the inauguration in a manner not agreeable to those in this organization. Suppose the witness is honest, as no one questions, in his conclusions, and suppose that what he concluded was outside of the purview of our inquiry, yet it would be our duty to ascertain whether the conclusions of the witness as to this organization are correct in point of fact; whether he has not been misled, for instance. If we should come to the conclusion that it was altogether without the extent of our inquiry to ascertain about an armed organization to prevent the Wide-awakes coming here, nevertheless we should see that it was a correct conclusion on the part of the witness whether they had not deceived him; whether, under the guise of an organization to prevent the Wide-awakes coming here in any other manner than what would be agreeable to them, was not a cloak under which they were, after all, organizing either to take Fort McHenry or to seize upon the capital. In that view of it, it recurs to me that we are justified in going to the length of our discretion, at least, to ascertain whether that was the real object of the organization. I am not so clear myself whether the present phraseology of our instructions is such as to justify our taking any action in regard to an organization in Baltimore, or the State of Maryland, whose actual purpose would be to prescribe rules and forms as to the manner in which men shall come here to attend the inauguration. But I do think it is our duty to see whether that organization has any other in view. Therefore I should be for ascertaining, as far as we are able, just exactly what that organization has in view, not taking it as conclusive that the witness has been accurately informed as to their purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose that the information as regards their purposes is not more conclusive, resting, as it does, upon hearing, than it is as to their existence. The error of Mr. Branch is, so far as the last point is concerned, in assuming that the purpose of their existence was proved, while the existence of the institution itself only rested upon hearsay. They both rest upon hearsay; and it is equally important that we should get persons connected with the organization, and that we should have their names and this witness for that purpose, both in regard to their purposes and in regard to their existence. It is all upon hearsay, as I understand it. This witness does not belong to the organization, he says, but makes his statements upon opinion. Then the question was: Have any of these officers or persons connected with the organization told you that they belonged to it? Yes, sir; they have. Who are they? That is the question. Now, that question is just as important for the purpose of enabling us to determine what their purposes are, as it is as to whether the organization exists.

Mr. COCHRANE. This organization, as I understand it, does not claim to be secret; they are open to view, not only as to their existence, but as to their object; so I infer from all the evidence which we have upon that point.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that question has yet been put together.

Mr. COCHRANE. I assume that to be the fact; therefore I do not see that there is any legal or other objection to disclosing the names of the parties who have disclosed the existence or the object of an organization of that kind. As to the question of disclosing, that addresses itself to the discretion of the committee. I should feel no more difficulty in asking the name of a person who has expressed himself as to the purpose and object of this association than I would in asking the disclosure of the name of the persons who disclosed the existence of the organization. The only question which addresses itself to my mind is, whether there is any useful object to be obtained in pressing further for information upon this point, in respect to which I think there is sufficient evidence before the committee already to satisfy us of the existence of an organization, and the specific purpose for which it had its initiation. I am not, therefore, for screening the witness from the disclosure of these names because of any delicacy which he may feel, or the crimination of any acquaintance that it may result in. I only feel a doubt in regard to the worth of the further prosecution of the inquiry. But inasmuch as it does not follow that further inquiry should not be made of these individuals when their names are disclosed, and inasmuch as, if their names are disclosed, it would be an element of further satisfaction to the committee, I should say that the witness should render the names to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps it might be well, before the question is pressed, to ask the witness whether the organization he alludes to is a secret or open one, and then bring up the matter so that the question, in the same shape, may come in; or this may be pressed now.

Mr. COCHRANE. I do not deem that the inquiry is in the direct line of the purpose of the resolution given us in charge; but I regard that it is legitimate as an inquiry upon a subject which may result in directing us to the subject which we have given us in charge by the House.

Mr. BRANCH submitted the following formal objection:

First. The objects of the association or organization being stated on hearsay by the witness, are not sufficiently established to justify the committee in compelling the witness to disclose the names of persons supposed to belong to it.

Second. If its object is such as the witness has heard it to be, that is, the preventing armed Wide-awakes from passing through Baltimore, it is not within the scope of the inquiry which this committee were instructed by the House to make.

The objection was overruled.

The examination was then resumed, as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. We now desire you to state the names of any persons that you have heard say that they belonged to this organization?

Answer. What will be the consequences if I object to answer?

The CHAIRMAN. That I cannot state; we simply have our duty to perform, and you have yours; we think it is our duty to press the question.

Mr. COCHRANE. I think the witness ought to give this information to the committee.

Mr. DAWES. We all appreciate the delicacy on the part of the witness; but the objection to voluntarily furnishing the name is all removed when the witness does it under objection and upon the call of the committee. There can then be no objection, so far as the matter of delicacy is concerned; it is relieved altogether of that. While the witness may feel constrained not to disclose the names of his friends voluntarily, it is, of course, for the witness to say when there is such a constraint upon him when he is brought into court as a witness and put under oath.

Mr. BRANCH. The law empowers committees of Congress to compel witnesses to answer, as fully as in a court of justice.

The CHAIRMAN. This witness came before the committee, not voluntarily, but subpoenaed by the committee, without being privy to it himself. He is brought here, you may say, by force, and is now required to answer the question by the same power that brought him here.

Mr. BRANCH. Perhaps I ought to say, in order that the witness may not misunderstand me, that the law empowers a committee of Congress to compel answers to questions, and gives them as much power as a court of justice possesses, provided that the question is pertinent to the object of inquiry. Whether it is pertinent or not is for the House of Representatives to determine, when the question is brought to their consideration.

The WITNESS. Has the witness a right to know whether the question is pertinent or not?

Mr. BRANCH. That is for the committee to decide. If the witness appeals from their decision, then the question goes to the House.

Mr. DAWES. If the witness declines to answer, then the matter can be taken before the House; and the House will pass upon the question, whether it is a proper one or not. If they decide it is not a proper one, then they will not compel him to answer. If they decide that is a proper one, then they would take such course with the witness as they might think fit.

The WITNESS. I think I owe it to my friends not to answer the question. If it only concerned myself, I would answer it immediately.

Mr. DAWES. I have no doubt but what the committee appreciate the feeling of the witness in not desiring to disclose the names of his friends; yet it is for him to consider, whether he can be reprehended at all, under the circumstances, by his friends.

The WITNESS. I do not know what the consequences would be. You know what Baltimore city is; it is a wild place. If they were to know that I disclosed these names, I have no idea what the consequence might be. There is no organization with any intention whatever to come to Washington.

Mr. DAWES. You know of no such organization?

The WITNESS. None that I know of ; and those men I do know, and whose names I could disclose, I am satisfied belong to no such organization. They stated that they belonged to what were called the National Volunteers ; I think you had one of that organization before you on yesterday.

Mr. DAWES. Who was he ?

The WITNESS. Mr. Ferrandini.

By Mr. COCHRANE :

Question. You decline to answer this question for prudential reasons ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; for personal reasons. I do not think it is important to the committee. I do not object to answer because I object to the committee at all. I do not want to be impertinent or disrespectful.

Mr. DAWES suggested that this point be passed over for the present.

By Mr. COCHRANE :

Question. In regard to this association, did you understand it to be a secret association ?

Answer. No, sir. They drill with open doors, I believe.

Question. Is its existence spoken of freely in Baltimore ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; there is hardly a man in Baltimore but what knows of this organization, and for that purpose, and that purpose only, I think.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Have you any other knowledge of the objects of this association than seems to be possessed by the people of Baltimore generally ?

Answer. I have not.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Are you engaged in business in Baltimore at the present time ?

Answer. I am not at present.

Question. Is it generally known who the officers of this organization are ?

Answer. I take it there are a great many outside of the organization itself who know who they are. I do not think the members themselves try to keep it secret at all. I do not think there has been any secrecy. I understand they are known on the street by a red ribbon on the coat, so that if you should send your Sergeant-at-arms over there I expect you could get a thousand of them almost any time. I know that at the meeting the other night at Baltimore they were known by a red ribbon on their coats.

Question. Where do you expect they are to get their arms from ? Have you ever been told by any of the members of the organization where they expected to get their arms ?

Answer. My impression is that they have their arms already.

Where they came from I do not know ; I presume, though, by private subscription.

Question. Have you ever been solicited to join this organization ?

Answer. I have.

Question. By whom ?

Answer. That question I would rather not answer, because I would then be giving you the name of one of the officers.

Question. Are you under any sort of pledge not to communicate that fact ?

Answer. I am not.

Question. If this organization is so notorious, that is, if its existence is so notorious that they do not try to keep it secret, what could be the harm of your disclosing these names ?

Answer. As I said a while ago, I do not know what the consequences would be. I do not fear anything except in regard to myself. I might receive some personal injury if I did disclose their names, because they are men who would not like to be taken from their work for a day or two to come down here for nothing, or what they would look upon as nothing.

By Mr. DAWES :

Question. Do you apprehend that you might be exposed to some personal injury for that inconvenience to them ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I apprehend that from the character of some of the men I know.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Have you belonged to any military organization in New York since you resigned in the Seventh Regiment ?

Answer. I have not.

Question. Do you know of the existence of any organization in New York city that is to act in connexion with these National Volunteers in Baltimore ?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Have you ever heard that one existed there for that purpose ?

Answer. I have read in the newspapers something of the sort. I never heard it from individuals.

Question. Nothing more than what you have read in sensation articles in papers ?

Answer. Only what I have read in the papers.

Question. Upon what do you base your opinion as to the number of this organization ? You stated that it was 6,000, at least. Do you base that almost exclusively upon what has been told you by men who are members of the organization ?

Answer. Entirely so.

Question. By their own representations ?

Answer. By what I understood individuals to say at the meeting the other night at the Maryland Institute for the purpose of calling a convention over the head of the governor. I heard a man remark there that it was over 5,000 strong then.

Question. Did he make that remark in a public speech?

Answer. No, sir; he was a citizen in the crowd.

Question. Made it to some one who stood by him in the crowd?

Answer. He made it to me.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Was he a member of the organization?

Answer. I presume he is a member; I do not know positively that he is.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Have you ever heard any member of this organization say anything about their coming to Washington?

Answer. Not a word.

Question. Either that they were or were not coming?

Answer. I have heard them say that they were not coming; that they had no such intention—no such idea at all. Their object was simply for the purpose I have stated, and no other.

Question. To prevent northern military companies passing through there?

Answer. To prevent any military companies passing through, northern or southern; it would make no difference which they were. To prevent any armed men going through when Mr. Lincoln shall pass through. Individually, they have the greatest respect for Mr. Lincoln; and I think there would not be a solitary thing done, unless some military comes with him, which they look upon in the light of a threat.

Question. Do you understand that this organization is got up to be ready to meet this anticipated threat, if it should come?

Answer. Exactly so; that is exactly what it was got up for.

Question. Do you understand that they raised arms by private subscription on that basis alone?

Answer. Yes, sir; and I think that the day that Mr. Lincoln passes through Baltimore will satisfy everybody what their object is. The city of Baltimore is very strongly in favor of the Union—two to one, I should think.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. Will you be kind enough to tell the committee what you know in reference to the sources from whence they obtained their arms?

Answer. I have nothing more than what I have said; I do not know anything more. I think they have arms; I do not know positively that they have; I merely think so. And I think their arms were purchased in that way.

Question. Have you any knowledge as to where they were obtained?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. You said you did not think this organization contemplated the taking of Fort McHenry, because you supposed if there was any occasion to take it, it would be taken in another way. In what way?

Answer. I never heard but one man make that remark, and he was not a member of the organization. He merely gave it as his opinion that that was what the organization was for.

Question. You thought it would be taken in another way, if there was any occasion to take it?

Answer. By the citizens of Baltimore, for the preservation of their rights.

Question. I allude to the manner in which it would be taken, not to the purpose.

Answer. They would take it, of course, with arms, if they took it at all. They could not go there and blow it down with their breath; they would have to take it with cannon and muskets?

Question. Why do you think these companies have no idea of co-operating in any such thing?

Answer. Because I never heard any one say it was for any such purpose. All the members I have talked to seem to be of one opinion.

Question. Have this organization any connexion with the attempt to hold a convention over the head of the governor?

Answer. I think not.

Question. Who was the gentleman who, at the meeting, told you that they were already 5,000 strong?

Answer. I do not know that he was a member of the order, and I can give you his name. He is Colonel Philip Barry.

Question. Why have you any more objection to telling us the names of the officers of the company than you have in telling his name?

Answer. Because, in justice to myself, I do not think I have any right to do it.

Question. Have you any objection to telling us the reason why you make a distinction between this gentleman and the others?

Answer. The man who told me that is a man of no influence at all, either political or any other; and the possibility is, that whatever I might say would not result in anything to me.

Question. Are the others men of political influence?

Answer. Some of them are, I believe, and some are not; that is, they formerly were in politics; they were mostly democrats.

Question. Who have held position in the party?

Answer. That I do not know.

Question. Are they men of influence in the city of Baltimore?

Answer. I suppose some of them have what is called shoulder-hitting influence—rowdy influence. That is about all.

Question. They are intimately connected with this organization?

Answer. I think that some of them are.

Question. Is it from them that you have obtained what you have stated to us as to what you suppose to be the purpose of the organization?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you obtained from them any information respecting the purposes of the organization?

Answer. I cannot recollect now that I have.

Question. Will you tell us what information you have obtained from them respecting the purpose of the organization?

Answer. I cannot, because I placed no confidence in them at all.

Question. Have you been to any of their places of drilling, when they were drilling?

Answer. I have not; never in my life.

Question. Do you know who any of the individuals are who are teaching them?

Answer. You had one before you yesterday, Mr. Ferrandini.

Question. Do you know any of the others?

Answer. I cannot say I do, positively.

Question. You have stated that this organization has sprung up within the last month?

Answer. I think so; I am not certain. I will not state positively. My impression is that it is not over five weeks old.

Question. What is your age?

Answer. I was twenty-eight years old the 4th of last August.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Did you travel through the southern States on business, or for pleasure simply?

Answer. I travelled partly on business and partly for pleasure.

Question. Did you travel all over the southern States?

Answer. All over the southern States. Yes, sir.

Question. Were you the agent of any corporation, or company, or organization?

Answer. I was at one time engaged with a mercantile firm in New York, and at another time with one in Baltimore.

Question. Agent for business transactions?

Answer. Yes, sir; altogether.

Question. Except so far as your pleasure was concerned?

Answer. That is all.

Question. Nothing connected with either the politics or the troubles of the country?

Answer. Not a thing.

[The witness was requested to retire while the committee consulted concerning the questions the witness had declined to answer. After a short time the witness was recalled.

The Chairman informed the witness that, for the present, the committee had concluded not to press him to answer those questions. If they should deem it necessary hereafter, then they would recall him and insist upon the answers.]

O. K. HILLARD.

No. 26.

WEDNESDAY, *February 6, 1861.*

PHILIP P. DAWSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside ?

Answer. In Baltimore city.

Question. Are you an old resident there ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I was born there, and have lived there all my days.

Question. And you are very well acquainted there ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Do you know anything of any organization that exists in this city or in Baltimore that has for its object any attack upon the Capitol here, or any interference with the government in any shape ?

Answer. No, sir ; I do not. Permit me to place myself right upon the record. I do not want it to be supposed that there is any secession in me. I am a Marylander and a Union man out and out ; nothing else. I presume I have been summoned here for the purpose of getting at a conversation that occurred between a gentleman and myself.

Question. I will ask you in a moment about that. You have no knowledge of the existence of any such organization ?

Answer. I have no personal knowledge of it at all.

Question. Have you heard it talked about ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I have heard it charged in the streets that there was an organization of that kind.

Question. Have you ever heard anybody say that he belonged to such an organization ?

Answer. No, sir ; I never heard a man say he belonged to any organization of the kind.

Question. State any conversation that you may have heard having a bearing upon this subject.

Answer. There was a conversation between a gentleman and myself, perhaps the latter part of last week. We were both discussing the present difficulties ; he taking an ultra view, perhaps, of one side, that of secession, and I of the other side. In that conversation he admitted to me that there was an organization of that kind in the city of Baltimore, and that he knew who led it, and where their meetings were held. That is about all I know about it. In fact, yesterday before I came down here, hearing that I had been summoned, and presuming that it had grown out of that conversation, he met me on the street ; indeed he had been looking for me. And he then told me he knew who led the organization, and where it met. That is about all I know about it.

Question. Who told you this ?

Answer. It was Mr. Joseph H. Boyd, a lumber merchant in South Caroline street.

Question. Did he specify what the object of the organization was ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; the object was to make an attack upon the Capitol, as I understood it, and to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, the President elect.

Question. That was some day last week you say ?

Answer. It was either on Friday or Saturday last that he told me. On yesterday when he met me, he refused to give me the names of the parties ; where he got his information, or how he got it, I am unable to say. But my impression was that he got it from one of the parties ; so I thought from the way he spoke.

Question. Did he indicate anything in regard to the magnitude of the organization—how large it was ?

Answer. No, sir ; nothing more than this : that a gentleman remarked to him that it would surprise him to know what was going on.

Question. What was going on in this respect.

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Are you well acquainted with this Mr. Boyd ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I have known him for years ; we grew up together.

Question. Is he a man that indulges freely in loud and gassy talk—a boastful sort of man—or is he a cautious man ?

Answer. He is rather cautious ; that was the way I took this expression of his. Supposing that somebody had been blowing to him, as the phrase is, I remarked to him, “O ! somebody has been letting off a little gas to you.” “No,” he said, a little indignantly ; and he replied a little tartly that it was a man of standing who had said so.

Question. Is Mr. Boyd a man of standing and position in Baltimore ?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I should say so.

Question. He is regarded as a respectable man ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You say he is a lumber merchant ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Is he largely engaged in business ?

Answer. He has been doing a very pretty business. He is a man who is worth considerable property. I should judge him to be worth some \$30,000 or \$40,000. He has a great deal of property in the city.

Question. He is not a man very much given to blowing, as the phrase is ?

Answer. No, sir ; but he is like all other men who succeed in making a few dollars, and getting a little ahead ; he has got his enemies. I have not seen a man yet, who has made a few dollars, that I do not find some one who had something to say against him.

Question. You have given all the information you have on this subject ?

Answer. Yes, sir.

PHILIP T. DAWSON.

No. 27.

SATURDAY, *February 9*, 1861.

JOSEPH H. BOYD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside?

Answer. In the city of Baltimore.

Question. Are you an old resident there?

Answer. I was born there.

Question. Are you very well acquainted there?

Answer. Well, yes, sir ; I have a large number of acquaintances in the city, particularly in the eastern portion of it.

Question. Are you engaged in business there?

Answer. Yes, sir ; the lumber business.

Question. Do you know whether there is existing there any organization, either civil or military, secret or open, that has for its object any hostile demonstration upon this city?

Answer. No, sir, I do not ; not of my personal knowledge.

Question. Or any attack upon the Capitol here, or any of the public buildings here?

Answer. No, sir ; I do not know of anything of that kind.

Question. Or that has for its object any resistance to the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln?

Answer. I do not know of any such organization.

Question. There is none for that purpose?

Answer. None that I know of.

Question. Or that contemplates any interruption of the proceedings of Congress or of the government in any shape?

Answer. No, sir ; I do not know anything of that kind.

Question. Do you know of any military organization there recently formed for any purpose?

Answer. No, sir ; I do not know of any. I know there is an organization, at least I saw the accounts in the public papers the other night calling upon the National Volunteers, five of its companies from A to F, to meet to drill.

Question. You saw the call in the papers for these several companies to meet to drill?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you any knowledge of the organization more than what you have seen in the papers?

Answer. No, sir ; it is a democratic organization.

Question. A political organization?

Answer. Yes, sir. I have never heard of anything on foot to disturb the Capitol at all, or interfere with the President, or anything of that kind. I know that people have their views, their individual opinions, which I have heard. But that is about all that I know of.

Question. How long has this organization been in existence? Do you know?

Answer. I think it originated somewhere in the latter part of the summer.

Question. Previous to the election?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. Do you speak of the National Volunteers?

Answer. Yes, sir; there are some 2,500 of them, I believe; there was some three months ago. I have been at one or two of their meetings, but I never heard anything except that it was a political organization.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. How recently were you at one of their meetings?

Answer. I have not been at any of their meetings since the election, although they have had their regular meetings since that time.

Question. Were they in the habit of drilling before the election?

Answer. No, sir; I never knew it until I saw the call in the papers the other day for so many companies to meet and drill. There are minute men there who have formed themselves into companies; they are of the opposite party—the Bell and Everett party; I believe they have different companies, and I believe they drill. The military spirit is up there now, more so than I have ever seen in my life. The old military companies are enlarging themselves, and have divided themselves off into companies under the same name, alphabetically arranged.

Question. That is, the companies assume names after the letters of the alphabet?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Are these companies of Minute Men and National Volunteers armed?

Answer. Not to my knowledge.

Question. They have not got arms yet so far as you know?

Answer. Not to my knowledge.

Question. Do you know when this system of drilling first commenced?

Answer. No, sir; all I know about the drilling is the advertisement I saw in the paper.

Question. Do you know who is at the head of the National Volunteers in Baltimore?

Answer. I think it is Mr. Wm. Byrne, the same gentleman, I believe, that brought the electoral vote of the State to Washington.

Question. Was he one of the electors?

Answer. Really I do not know whether he is or not. I know he was delegated to bring the returns here by the electors who met at Annapolis. Now, as regards my opinion in the matter, I do not believe there is any organization there determined to do any injury to the country. I believe our people are divided in regard to this matter; and if the difficulty is not settled, I believe a large portion of our people are for the south.

Question. In case of a division?

Answer. Yes, sir ; but nobody wants to see it. God forbid that a happy country like this should be distracted by a question that will destroy all our happiness as a people. I love my country, and I want to see it united as long as time lasts. And many a man in Maryland would sacrifice his life if that would heal the difficulty.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Is that the general feeling in Baltimore?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I believe it is. We are all union men, but we all love the south ; we do not want our rights to be trampled upon. And, therefore, we say in regard to the south, as Ruth of old said : "Your God shall be our God." That is our feeling ; but we would all like to see the Union preserved.

Question. You would like to see the Union preserved honorably and fairly?

Answer. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Do you know upon information, or upon your own knowledge, what immediate object these companies have in view from drilling now?

Answer. No, sir ; I do not. I could not say ; I have no positive knowledge.

Question. Have you heard it talked of much?

Answer. No, sir ; not particularly the National Volunteers. Their drilling did seem to create any excitement at all, from the fact that the other party, the Bell and Everett party, have been doing the same thing. They are rival organizations.

Question. Do you belong to any one of these companies yourself?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I joined the National Volunteers previous to the election ; but I have never attended their meetings since the election.

Question. I mean, do you belong to any one of these companies as they are now divided and designated by the letters of the alphabet?

Answer. No, sir ; I have never been to but one or two of their meetings, perhaps three of them, and that was prior to the election.

Question. Where do they hold their meetings?

Answer. They hold their meetings on Fayette street, in the neighborhood of Battle Monument, just a few doors from Calvert street.

Question. Have you ever heard any of these men belonging to any of these companies express any determination to resist the passage of Mr. Lincoln through the State of Maryland?

Answer. No, sir ; I have not ; not particularly that I recollect of ; not any member of that organization.

Question. You have not heard, even in conversation, any particular reason given for their drilling just at this time?

Answer. No, sir ; I have not.

Question. And you do not know what the purpose is?

Answer. No, sir ; I do not know what the purpose is. I should suppose that they wanted to be prepared in case of an emergency. That is all, I should suppose.

Question. In case of the secession of Maryland, or anything of that kind?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Do you believe that they contemplate any action whatever unless Maryland shall secede; that is, do you suppose they contemplate any action until Maryland shall secede?

Answer. I do not know; I could not answer that question—not plainly.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. I presume the Chairman means to ask if they contemplate any action against the government in this District?

Answer. I have heard citizens of Baltimore say that if Virginia seceded, and Governor Hicks did not give the legislature a chance to meet, or the people a chance to have a convention, they did not know what would be the result; and some of them spoke as if they would resist under those circumstances.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. You heard individuals say so?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. You have no knowledge that that is the settled purpose of this organization?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. You have heard that opinion expressed by individual citizens?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you heard that opinion expressed by those you knew belonged to this organization?

Answer. No, sir; I do not think I have. I do not think I could name a dozen men who belong to this organization if I should try. There are a large number that I know, but at the same time I do not think I could call a dozen names over.

Question. Do you know Mr. Philip T. Dawson, of Baltimore?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you recently had a conversation with him upon this subject?

Answer. Well, sir, I had a conversation with him some ten days or two weeks ago, I guess. He is a man very extravagant in his remarks. He is a great Hicks man; and I made a sort of retort in reply to him, that I was satisfied in my own mind that the people of Maryland were not going to be governed much longer by Governor Hicks; that that was the sentiment, as far as I could judge from what I had seen and heard. I furthermore told him that I had heard some rumors, and what they were; but I had no idea that the man would take the trouble to have me brought down here to Washington. I did not exactly like the idea of having my name in the papers as being brought before this committee upon this subject, as if I was in it myself, or knew something about it. I mix very little with people of that class who would be willing to undertake anything like rebellion. In fact, I do not associate with them if I know it.

Question. As I have alluded to Mr. Dawson, I will ask you to state as nearly as you can what did occur between you and him.

Answer. I had been met by another gentleman on the street, who wanted to buy a piece of property from me. He had sold a farm that he had in the country, and I thought I was going to sell my piece of property to him. When I met him I remarked that he had not called according to promise. He said he had not, for he had made up his mind not to spend a dollar; that he was going to hold on to all the money he had, because he thought there was trouble brewing; I said to him "the news from Washington to day looks as if the difficulty would be settled." He replied: "You don't know anything." "Well," said I, "you know a great deal; I wish you would give me some of your information." He then told me that there was a party that met at such a place frequently, and that his brother boarded at the same establishment. I did not pay much attention to it. He remarked that one of the best men in Maryland was at the head of it. I told Mr. Dawson the same thing as I received it. I did not put much confidence in it, although he was a very clever man.

The CHAIRMAN. I would say that Mr. Dawson did not ask to have you summoned here. But your name was mentioned, and the committee deemed it best to send for you. I will read you that part of Mr. Dawson's testimony.

Mr. Dawson's testimony was then read to the witness as follows:

"Question. Do you know anything of any organization that exists in this city or in Baltimore that has for its object any attack upon the Capitol here, or any interference with the government in any shape?

"Answer. No, sir; I do not. Permit me to place myself right upon the record. I do not want it to be supposed that there is any secession in me. I am a Marylander and a Union man out and out—nothing else. I presume I have been summoned here for the purpose of getting at a conversation that occurred between a gentleman and myself.

"Question. I will ask you in a moment about that. You have no knowledge of the existence of any such organization?

"Answer. I have no personal knowledge of it at all.

"Question. Have you heard it talked about?

"Answer. Yes, sir; I have heard it charged in the street that there was an organization of that kind.

"Question. Have you ever heard anybody say that he belonged to any organization of the kind?

"Answer. No, sir; I never heard a man say he belonged to any organization of the kind.

"Question. State any conversation that you may have heard having a bearing upon this subject.

"Answer. There was a conversation between a gentleman and myself perhaps the latter part of last week. We were both discussing the present difficulties—he taking an ultra view, perhaps, of one side, that of secession, and I of the other."

[The WITNESS. He is mistaken there. I never took any such view.]

"In that conversation he admitted to me that there was an organi-

action of that kind in the city of Baltimore, and that he knew who led it and where their meetings were held. That is about all that I know about it. In fact, yesterday, before I came down here, hearing that I had been summoned, and presuming that it had grown out of that conversation, he met me on the street—indeed, he had been looking for me. And he then told me he knew who led the organization and where it met. That is about all that I know about it.

“Question. Who told you that?”

“Answer. It was Mr. Joseph H. Boyd a lumber merchant, in South Carolina street.

“Question. Did he specify what the object of the organization was?”

“Answer. Yes, sir; the object was to make an attack upon the Capitol, as I understood it, and to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, the President elect.”

The WITNESS. The conversation I had with Mr. Dawson was in reference to just exactly the report I had heard. The gentleman who told it to me made the remark—“You don’t know what is going on,” or “You don’t know what is in the wind,” or something like that. He said that he would not buy a dollar’s worth of property now, but he would hold on to all his means. He had, as I said before, been treating with me for a piece of property: I then asked him what he knew, and he said “a great deal.” Afterwards he told me that he knew there were meetings held regularly at the Enoch House, and that was what I had reference to when I spoke to Mr. Dawson. I just gave it to him for a report, as I have done to you. I am on my oath, and I will give you the truth of the whole subject, so far as I know it. The remark this gentleman made was, that this party met there regularly, and that John V. L. McMahon was at the head of it; but I did not believe any such thing.

By Mr. DAWSON:

Question. What did he say was their purpose?

Answer. He did not say.

Mr. BAASCH. I would not object to those names going on the record, provided the parties themselves shall be called here to testify in regard to the matter.

The WITNESS. I did not believe any such thing from the fact that that gentleman has been sick for some time. You know there are a thousand reports circulated every day in these times. I told the man that it was folly to mention it to anybody; that I did not believe it.

The CHAIRMAN. The only value, in fact, of such hearsay statements would be simply to put the committee on the track of more legitimate evidence by calling these parties themselves. I do not think it should be upon the record unless we follow it up.

The WITNESS. I do not think myself that there is any information I could give you that would be worth tracing. I do not place any confidence at all myself in this thing.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. In this conversation that you had with Mr. Dawson did

you suggest that the object of this organization, or of any organization you talked about, was an attack upon this Capitol?

Answer. No, sir; I did not. I did not know anything of the kind. The gentleman who told me this made the remark that I did not know what was in the wind, and that the reason that he would not purchase the property was that he had heard so and so. That was all hearsay throughout.

Question. You say that you did not convey to Mr. Dawson any idea that there was any organization to attack the Capitol or to prevent the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln?

Answer. No, sir; I only told him the remark as I had heard it made, and as I have told it here.

By Mr. DAWES:

Question. Do you know any disposition in Baltimore to obstruct in any way the passage of persons through Baltimore to attend the inauguration?

Answer. No, sir; I do not.

Question. Do you know anything of the existence of any organization in Baltimore having any connexion with the anticipated secession of Maryland and Virginia?

Answer. No, sir; I know nothing of that kind.

Question. What did you mean by the remark that you did not think the people of Maryland would submit much longer to be governed by Mr. Hicks?

Answer. According to my humble judgment, there is a feeling among the citizens of Baltimore, within the last ten days, of opposition to Mr. Hicks among some of his friends I have met with—men of some influence. They are all tired of waiting, they say. I think there is to be a convention of the people to be held next week; and from the general information I get from conversation, I am under the impression that the people are getting tired of being debarred of the privilege that they consider they have a right to—of being heard in this matter through their legislature or through a convention.

Question. In what way do they think they would relieve themselves from further control of Governor Hicks?

Answer. The public sentiment would drive him from his present position that he has taken in regard to our State, keeping her from expressing her sentiments, as we believe them to be. That is my opinion.

Question. How would they, in that way, relieve themselves from the further control of Governor Hicks? What is their plan?

Answer. I do not know any plan at all; only I should suppose that if he found that the masses were against him, and desired him to do so and so as the governor of our State, elected by the people of the State, he would do it. That is my opinion and the opinion of some others, as I have said before. I do not believe that Governor Hicks would be sustained by the vote of the people of Baltimore in any way, shape, or form, for they believe that they have the right to speak upon this subject.

Question. Then your idea of the people of Maryland relieving them-

selves from the control of Governor Hicks was only in reference to the convention?

Answer. Yes, sir; or the legislature.

Question. What connexion do you suppose the convention would have in relieving the people of Maryland from the further control of Governor Hicks?

Answer. I only had reference to that particular point of calling the legislature, or having a convention.

Question. Do you suppose the convention would call the legislature together?

Answer. No, sir; I do not think they have any such authority.

Question. What is the purpose of the convention?

Answer. To speak the sentiment of Maryland.

Question. Upon what subjects.

Answer. Upon the crisis, and upon the course of Governor Hicks.

Question. Do you know whether any of these organizations are co-operating with this movement to hold a convention?

Answer. No, sir.

Mr. BRANCH. I object to this course of examination in reference to the internal, domestic polity of the people of Maryland, having no reference whatever to an attack upon this government, or this District, or the government property here.

Mr. DAWES. Whether it has anything to do with the ultimate object of our inquiry would depend altogether upon the character of the testimony elicited. If there were divisions in regard to the internal polity of Maryland, and there was a disposition to revolutionize that internal polity so as to remove any barrier in the way of an attack upon the Capitol, then it seems to me this inquiry is proper.

The WITNESS. I have never heard anything in reference to any plan for disturbing the property of the government.

Mr. DAWES. I desire to find out the nature of the disturbing elements of the internal polity of Maryland, so as to see if, should they relieve themselves from the control of Governor Hicks, it would expose the public property here to the danger of an attack. That is the purpose of the inquiry. I am aware that, abstractly, the internal polity of Maryland has nothing to do with the matter we are instructed to inquire about. It is only as the nature of the evidence elicited relates to the ultimate purpose, in view of what may be done when they have relieved themselves from the control of Governor Hicks.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the investigation is taking a pretty wide range.

Mr. BRANCH. If I supposed it would elicit any such information as that, I would not object. But the witness has stated that he knows of no organization in Maryland with any such object in view.

The CHAIRMAN. I would not like arbitrarily to rule out any question of this kind, but I thought it was strained somewhat. I doubt whether any very extended examination in that line ought to be gone into.

Mr. DAWES. Under the suggestion of the Chairman, of course I will not continue the inquiry.

No further questions were asked the witness.

No. 28.

WEDNESDAY, *February 13, 1861.*

THOMAS H. HICKS examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. You are aware that this committee were directed to inquire as to the existence of any secret organization that has for its object any attack upon the Capitol, or any other public property. The committee having read some passages of your communication to the people of Maryland of the 3d of January, 1861, felt it their duty to try to obtain your testimony upon some points, and it is with that view that they have requested your attendance here.

Answer. I would very much prefer, if you will allow me to remark here, not to connect names with my testimony, unless the committee shall otherwise determine, for the reason (obvious to my mind, at least, and I think it may so present itself to the gentlemen of this committee) that if I do so connect the names of those from whom I have received verbal or written information, it may close up avenues of information that may hereafter become important.

Question. I will read a passage or two from your communication :

“ But, my fellow-citizens, it is my duty to tell you that the reassembling of the legislature is wished for by many who urge it with a view to no such specification. I have been repeatedly warned, by persons having the opportunity to know, and who are entitled to the highest confidence, that the secession leaders in Washington have resolved that the border States, and especially Maryland, shall be precipitated into secession with the cotton States before the 4th of March.

“ They have resolved to seize the federal Capitol and the public archives, so that they may be in a position to be acknowledged by foreign governments as the ‘ United States,’ and the assent of Maryland is necessary, as the District of Columbia would revert to her in case of a dissolution of the Union. It is only contemplated to retain it for a few years, as the wants of the southern military confederacy will cause its removal further south. The plan contemplates forcible opposition to Mr. Lincoln’s inauguration, and consequently civil war upon Maryland soil, and a transfer of its horrors from the States which are to provoke it.”

With regard to that, the first inquiry the committee would wish to submit would be, whether you had actual personal knowledge of any such matters as we are directed to inquire about? If you had not such knowledge, then what were your sources of information, either verbal or written? When you come to detail those, while it is our duty to go as near the bottom as possible, many of the answers you are called upon to give will have to be left necessarily to your own discretion, because you have your duty to perform to your State. We should be glad to have the answers as full as you may deem consistent with the interests of the public service and of your own State. But when par-

ticular questions arise, it will have to be left mainly to your own judgment to determine what answers you will give.

I will now ask you if the declaration in your communication, as I have read it, is based upon any positive knowledge in your possession?

Answer. No personal knowledge of my own.

Question. Will you state, as fully as possible, upon what information, either verbal or written, you based the opinion there expressed?

Answer. I will give the bases of my belief of how this thing was designed. In the first place, I have the published copy of a letter written the 10th of January, 1860, by a firm in Charleston, South Carolina, to a French commercial firm in France; next, a publication, or programme, published in the Richmond Enquirer of the 17th of December last. That programme alone would have made very little impression on my mind. But interviews with several distinguished gentlemen, whose names I would prefer not to disclose, took place, in which declarations were made that led me to believe that an effort would be made to defeat the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. I do not speak of this as evidence as a matter of course; but I am giving you the bases upon which I have formed my opinion of a design to attempt violence on or before the 4th of March, upon which I entertained the impression that something of that sort was designed.

The extract from a paper containing the letter referred to was read, as follows:

"The Newark *Daily Advertiser* has received from its Paris correspondent copies of two letters from a business house in Charleston to another in Paris, which shows, in a more practical way than has been done heretofore, that disunion has been a long-settled purpose. The first letter was written a year ago, (January 4, 1860,) ten months before the election of Mr. Lincoln. It contained the following passage:

"The fact of the matter is just this: our United States has grown too large to remain much longer as one country. It will soon be divided into two, viz: a northern and a southern confederacy. The south will not then purchase from the north, and will therefore be dependent upon all Europe. We will (the south,) when we withdraw from the northern half, put a heavy tariff on northern goods, and open our southern ports free to all the rest of the world.

"If France, or her manufacturers, want to sell millions more than she now does, let her watch the dissolution of this Union. We of the south hope for it—we pray for it. We have the cotton and the rice. We of the south are agriculturists—the northern half are manufacturers.

"We (S— & Co.) now want a few dozen of elegant hats from France. Do buy for us, say, five dozen fine jet black glossy silk hats, for men, of the style you think will prevail at Paris. Spring styles; do avoid the heavy bell crown. We are complete judges of styles; do not let any of the manufacturers put on you any old hats; don't want heavy rolled brims; want a crown of fashionable height; brim not too wide, with a pretty small curl to the side. No doubt some of your firm are of good taste. We prefer hats from P— or M—. Do

tell us if they are large manufacturers. We want the maker's name inside of the hats, and our names under theirs.

"S—— & Co., Charleston, South Carolina.

"Hats to cost from 10 to 12 francs."

The WITNESS. I next come to an interview with those present of a committee, the chairman of which was a distinguished gentleman; I would much prefer not to give any names for this reason: it must be apparent to all of you gentlemen that if I bandy names about in this connexion, it may deprive me of sources of information which may be important hereafter, and yet I cannot but think how much trouble and excitement might have been avoided if Secretary Floyd had heeded the anonymous letters sent to him prior to the John Brown raid. I have received many letters, all except one over the signatures of the writers' real names, though they are not all exactly connected with national matters.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Without any reference to your communicating the names, can you give us to understand more definitely what this committee was for that called upon you?

Answer. It was to urge me to call the legislature together. A meeting was held in Baltimore, in the Universalist church, on the Saturday preceding Christmas, and this committee were from that meeting; when this committee called upon me taunts were used, my personal safety was alluded to, and reference was made to the hazard I would run if persisting in declining to convene the legislature; reference was made to shedding blood, and refusing to allow Lincoln to be inaugurated. I remarked to them that I could not see the necessity for the shedding of blood; that they knew I was a southern man and a slaveholder; and one of them spoke of abolitionists coming through the State of Maryland on or about the fourth of March, with arms and bands of martial music, as a cause leading to bloodshed; there has always been a good understanding between that gentleman and myself; and when he proceeded to remark in regard to my personal security and safety, he spoke of his kind feeling towards me, and I remarked the same to him. This interview was on Christmas eve.

The morning after I received two letters, one of which was anonymous, the only anonymous letter I have received in regard to these matters. In these letters I was advised of a movement on foot here to bring to bear upon me, as the executive officer of Maryland, such a pressure as would compel me to convene the legislature, and saying that if the legislature was convened resolutions would be passed carrying the State with the south, in order that they might seize upon the Capitol with an armed force. One of these letters was from this place. The following Sabbath there were four or five highly respectable and reputable gentlemen present, who heard everything detailed by a highly respectable gentleman from Washington, connected with one of the first families of our State. He went over very much the same ground set forth by the Richmond Enquirer of the 17th of December; that the design was to break up the government, get posses-

sion of the archives and Capitol, carry Maryland with the south, in order that there might be an end of the cession of Maryland to the general government of the territory upon which the Capitol and other public buildings were placed. And he designated or described the gentleman who was at the head of this movement. I believed the statement made by this gentleman to be true, because I know him to be a truthful and highly respectable man. He so described the gentleman at the head of this movement, without giving his name, that after he left the room and went into the parlor with the ladies we all agreed as to whom he referred. He did not speak of his own knowledge in this matter, but gave as the reason of his having the means of information that he was connected with a particular party of gentlemen here, so that he could not help hearing these things. And he gave the exact number of gentlemen who were secretly organizing here and in the city of Baltimore in reference to this matter. Now, I am not a timid man, but I believe in the old adage "forwarned, forearmed." And I believe it is well to be forearmed now, in order that if such schemes were on foot they might be stopped by the knowledge of suitable and proper arrangements to repel them.

The following is an extract from the National Intelligencer of January 31, 1861, containing the substance of the programme published in the Richmond Enquirer:

"'CIVIL WAR' IN VIRGINIA.—We are compelled to believe that our sprightly and enterprising contemporary, the Richmond Enquirer, aspires to be the Sempronius of political journals. At every juncture in our current history its 'voice is still for war.' Just a week in advance of the late presidential election it predicted that the 'vote of Virginia for Bell would divide the people of that State into a northern and southern faction, which, beginning in crimination, would end in *civil war*,' or rather 'would inaugurate *civil war* at the outset.' That crisis having been safely passed in peace, we next find our contemporary, in its number of the 17th of December last, advising as follows:

"'Let the first convention, then, be held between Maryland and Virginia, and, these two States agreeing, let them provide sufficient force to seize the city of Washington, and, if coercion is to be attempted, let it begin by subjugating the States of Maryland and Virginia. Thus practical and efficient fighting in the Union will prevent the powers of the Union from falling into the hands of our enemies. We hope Virginia will depute her commissioners to Maryland first, and providing for the seizure of Washington city, Forts McHenry, Washington, and Old Point, Harper's Ferry and Gosport navy yard, present these two States in the attitude of rebels, *inviting coercion*. This was the way Patrick Henry brought about the revolution, and this is the best use that Virginia can make of commissioners of any kind.'

"The people of Maryland and Virginia not having responded to this slogan, our martial contemporary describes the next approach of danger in the shape of the convention bill passed by the Virginia house of delegates, with a clause providing that the people should be allowed to vote whether the decision of the convention, in certain contingencies, should or should not be subject to their ratification. While the bill

in this form was pending in the Senate, the Enquirer, in its number of the 14th instant, held the following alarming language :

“ ‘As to the reference clause, our opinion is unchanged. It meets our unqualified disapprobation. We believe that, if unamended, at the polls it will be full of danger—the danger of inducing the delegates set to work, with trammelled hands, to resort to deperate expedients in order to obtain State action at all ; *the danger of “precipitating” a revolution in our own midst and civil war among the citizens of Virginia themselves* ; finally, the last, worst danger of all, that of disgrace to the State, by delaying action at the very moment when prompt action can alone vindicate her honor and assure her safety. The mere adoption of this clause of the bill in the house of delegates has already served to add new determination to the spirit of northern aggression. Its final triumph in the general assembly cannot fail to subject us to the increased contempt of our northern enemies.’

“ The legislature, in both branches, having proved insensible to the danger thus described, and having passed the bill with this ‘popular feature’ unmodified, we observe that the Enquirer has lost none of its faith in military logic, but in its number of the 29th instant warns the people of Virginia against the peril of electing a majority of delegates not pledged to immediate secession. It says :

“ ‘*It would be difficult to estimate the lives [deaths?] which would result from a triumph of the submissionist party in the approaching election. A majority of submissionists in the State convention would produce in our midst all the worse evils of intestine revolution.* Events have already amply demonstrated the fact that there is a large body of citizens in the State who will under no circumstances, and at the dictation of no convention or other governmental body, submit to black republican rule. The election of submissionists to the State convention, then, *will tend inevitably to open a conflict between the State government and a large minority, if not a majority, of the citizens of the Commonwealth. Under such circumstances, every dictate of patriotic duty and public security demands that the good citizens of the State shall unite to secure the election of delegates to the convention pledged to the policy of prompt resistance to abolition rule.*’

“ We think that, for an advocate of ‘peaceable secession,’ the Enquirer has a remarkable fondness for warlike figures of speech ; and it also strikes us as not a little peculiar that there should never be any danger of ‘civil war’ or ‘intestine revolution’ in Virginia except when the views of our amiable contemporary are in some danger of being thwarted.”

There has been published some of the correspondence between the commissioners of some of the southern States and myself. And much of the opinion I have formed in regard to a contemplated movement of that sort has grown out of interviews with those gentlemen, and other circumstances, as now detailed.

Question. I remember to have seen some correspondence between a Mr. Handy, the commissioner from Mississippi, and yourself. But I did not know how far it was correct.

Answer. The correspondence between Judge Handy and myself was published immediately, upon the same afternoon that he left. And

some weeks after, it was so repeatedly said that there had been a correspondence between Mr. Curry and myself, that I thought I had better publish it; and I did so. I mention the names of Mr. Curry, of Alabama, and Judge Handy, of Mississippi, because that correspondence has been published.

Question. Can you give the date of the publication of the correspondence between Mr. Curry and yourself?

Answer. I cannot, for I have not the paper with me. But I could send it to the committee when I return. I do not allude so much, however, to anything written, as I do to verbal statements and opinions expressed to me. Judge Handy said among other things, that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Hamlin would never be installed into office. When I reminded him that we were then treating in a way that I did not feel easy about, considering what the Constitution said about one State entering into agreements or conventions with another, he said, "we have watched that point, and do not intend to violate the Constitution of the United States." I asked him how he would obviate that difficulty. He said, "we want Mississippi to go out, say, to-day, Maryland to-morrow, and so on, until all the States south of Mason's & Dixon's line are out; and then we would form a southern union." I replied to that that while I deprecated the election of Mr. Lincoln as much as he or any other man did, yet I did not think that was a cause for breaking up this great country of ours; that if any one had been elected President of the United States in a lawful manner I would not like to see the Union broken up because of that.

I have some letters here upon the same subject, but I do not think it prudent to expose the names. I think the safety of the State of Maryland, and perhaps in part the safety of the Union, depends upon my concealing the names. One of the parties wrote me two letters, and referred me to two highly respectable gentlemen for his character, veracity, and standing generally. I went to those gentlemen and they bore him out fully in speaking of his character. This gentleman wrote of a secret organization.

Question. Have you given, as far as you deem it proper, the character of the contents of these letters?

Answer. They relate to matters entirely within the State of Maryland. My design is simply to make apparent to the committee the bases upon which I have formed my opinion. But I do not consider the statements I may make with regard to my own State as evidence relating to the main subject of inquiry before this committee.

Question. Merely as information that has influenced your opinions?

Answer. Precisely; that is my design. The committee must see, I think, the importance of my keeping the way open for further communications. If it were necessary and proper I could state what arrangements were made after the receipt of this first letter from this gentleman to whom I have referred. Many may think I have been scared by this; but I have not the slightest trouble from that. I have no feeling in the world upon the subject, against any individual, or set of men, or party, or section in any way. I was born and raised in Maryland; I am a slaveholder, and have been the owner of slaves since I was 21 years old; and my sympathies are with the south.

That I say to the world. But I am a Union man, and would live and die in the Union.

I have made a memorandum here of all that I have relating to the subject upon which I came here to speak. I have always intended to come before the committee. And I am very thankful to the committee for their consideration in not summoning me regularly as a witness. These are briefly the grounds upon which I based my opinion :

First. The letter by this firm in Charleston to the commercial firm in France.

Second. The programme published in the Richmond Enquirer of the 17th of December last.

Third. The interview with the committee of my own State.

Fourth. These letters and verbal statements.

By Mr. COCHRANE.

Question. For my own satisfaction, and for the benefit of the committee, I should like to ask a few questions in order to put this matter upon a proper basis. We have been examining in regard to an existing organization here or elsewhere to interfere with the federal authorities, or public property in the District of Columbia. Your name has become connected with that matter by the proclamation to which reference has already been made, and therefore you have been called upon. As I understand you, the information which you have regarding this District may be classified into two distinct parcels, one referring to action without the State of Maryland, and the other to the intestine commotions within Maryland. I wish to ask what is your judgment in respect to the first class of information ; whether your judgment has been modified by subsequent events, so that you are satisfied now that there is no present danger from without the State of Maryland of any concerted action or confederated movement upon the District of Columbia, and federal property and authorities here?

Answer. I have not the slightest idea of any such thing at this time.

Question. Now, regarding the State of Maryland and its difficulties, without reference upon the cities and property and authorities of Maryland, have you any present belief that there are organizations there disciplined with a view to an attack upon the District of Columbia, the federal property here, or the federal authorities?

Answer. I have not ; although I believe it was decidedly contemplated at one time.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. You think the whole matter is now changed?

Answer. Yes, sir ; I think it was the settled determination some time ago to make an attack ; but I do not believe there is the slightest danger of it now.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. Will you state the object that committee had in view that made that call upon you? What request did they make of you?

Answer. To convene the legislature.

Question. What was the character of the meeting that appointed that committee, and where was it held?

Answer. It was held in the Universalist church, in the city of Baltimore, and this committee was appointed to wait upon me and urge this matter upon me, and the importance of agreeing to the resolution requesting me to call the legislature together.

Question. In the resolutions passed by that meeting was there anything indicating a purpose or wish to attack the government or property here?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Relating exclusively to matters in Maryland?

Answer. Yes, sir; and it was incidentally, in the course of conversation with the committee, that my personal safety was referred to. There was nothing of the kind in the resolutions.

Question. In the conversation you had with the members of that committee, did they intimate to you in express language that it was their intent or purpose to attack the government here, or its property in this District?

Answer. No, sir; they did not; that was a matter of inference entirely; I gathered it more from the declaration that the installation of Lincoln and Hamlin never would come off, and threats made in regard to my personal safety if I did not call the legislature together.

Question. Do you allude to taunts made by members of the committee?

Answer. Yes, sir; I was not at the meeting at all, and knew nothing of the proceedings there except from this committee.

Question. Then you say the next was an anonymous letter received on Christmas?

Answer. I received two letters: one was anonymous, and the other was not. One of the letters was signed "Marylander," the other was from a gentleman whom I never had seen.

Question. Did these letters state to you that there was an organization to attack this Capitol or government?

Answer. The character of the letter signed by a real name was more that of a warning to me than otherwise—to let me know the object of the terrible pressure brought to bear upon me to convene the legislature. They said they had reason to believe there was such an organization.

Question. Did you ascertain who wrote the anonymous letter?

Answer. No, sir; it was evidently written by a business man, and indicated pretty much the same facts as were indicated in the other letter.

Question. You know there is such a person as the one whose name is signed to that other letter?

Answer. Yes, sir; I had the pleasure of seeing him yesterday; I never saw him before.

Question. Did that letter detail to you the plan of the conspirators?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Did it state that there would be an attack upon the public buildings here?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Did it state the names of any persons engaged in that?

Answer. No, sir; it only stated the matter in a general way, and

said the ball was set in motion in the city of Baltimore. It was started, I supposed, by this meeting in the Universalist church, which appointed the committee to come down and call upon me. Then meetings were immediately advertised in Prince George's and Talbot counties and elsewhere looking to the same object, as I believed, all seeming to be dovetailed one into the other. All this convinced my judgment that there was something of that sort designed.

Question. The professed object of these meetings was to induce you to call the legislature together?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Not indicating any design to attack this District?

Answer. Not these meetings.

Question. Have you the letter in your possession written by the gentleman in this city?

Answer. I have not. I felt it to be my duty to have the scheme publicly exposed, and I placed it in the hands of an editor, and he has not yet returned it to me.

Question. Was it published by the editor?

Answer. The substance of it was, withholding the name.

Question. About what time was it published?

Answer. I should think from the 10th to the 15th of January. You will find it in the Baltimore American at that time; it was copied in a number of other papers.

Question. Who was the writer of that letter?

Answer. I would prefer, if the committee will allow me, not to connect the names of any one of these persons with what I may state here, for the reason that if it becomes known that these names are given by me, it would shut off the whole way of my receiving information hereafter, which I consider important to the safety of the people.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee desire to go as far as possible to the bottom of this thing. The question just propounded is exactly in that direction; yet it seems across the governor's position and the duties to his State, and my own judgment is that he ought to decide for himself as to his own action.

The WITNESS. The public security is the only thing I have in view.

Mr. BRANCH. I would not press the question if it related to facts, and the governor should state that he could not divulge those facts without compromising the public safety; but the facts have been given, and the only thing kept back is the name of the person from whom these facts have been obtained. The public security can in no way be involved by divulging the names. The public security can only be compromised by divulging a class of facts that would endanger the public. We should have that person before us, that he may state the knowledge he has of this matter, and put this committee and the public authorities in the way of tracing out and arresting any intent of that sort that may be prevailing at this time. In this case I understand that the party professes to have knowledge of the particular matter about which we are inquiring.

The WITNESS. I beg your pardon; he only wrote as another gentleman spoke, that he had heard that such a thing was contemplated, and that he believed it to be so, but without knowing any fact con-

nected with it, except in that general sort of way. And precisely so in regard to this gentleman who gave information verbally. He was asked if he knew any such thing from personal knowledge, and he said he did not. In a word, I consider it very important that I shall keep the way open hereafter for the receipt of information, whether reliable or unreliable. I recollect distinctly that, during the trouble and excitement consequent upon the John Brown raid, I received copies of a number of letters from Governor Wise, all anonymous but one, which was written from Washington county. Now I have letters going to show that there is a design contemplated to burn a particular bridge and to assassinate particular individuals. All this is to be done in the State of Maryland. But I attach no consequence to this information. I have no doubt these things are talked over, but by a set of men who, in my opinion, cannot organize a system that they can carry out. But that the matter is talked over in secret conclave I have no doubt.

After further discussion, the question was overruled.

The WITNESS. If I believed for a moment that it would conduce to the public interest and safety, I would leave all this pile of letters with the committee, which I deem so important to myself; but I refrain from doing so, that, as one of the guardians at least of the public interest and safety, I may keep the way open hereafter for advice and information.

By Mr. BRANCH :

Question. You spoke of conversations that you had with Commissioners Curry and Handy?

Answer. I had no conversation with Mr. Curry. I did not see him at all.

Question. Was there anything in the correspondence between you and Mr. Curry that looked in any way to a conspiracy to attack the government?

Answer. Nothing of the sort.

Question. Was there anything in either the conversation or correspondence between you and Mr. Handy to that effect?

Answer. Nothing direct; inferential altogether. There was nothing in our correspondence going to that point at all. It was more from the conversation than otherwise. He seemed to be very pressing, and I could not conceive the necessity for the hot haste with which he seemed to press the matter. When I asked him, he said that all these things must be done before the 4th of March. I asked why. He said: "We never intend that Abraham Lincoln shall have dominion over us."

Question. Did you understand him to mean that they would prevent Abraham Lincoln from having dominion over them by resort to force, or that they would secede?

Answer. He did not explain; I was left to inference altogether; but, judging by all that I knew, I believed it could not be prevented otherwise than by violence. But he did not say so.

Question. It was merely an inference on your part?

Answer. Yes, sir; from that conversation and what followed. In

other words, I combined all these things ; the correspondence and conversations between these gentlemen and myself ; the letters I received ; the visit of the committee to me, pressing me, in the earnest manner they did, to convene the legislature ; the conversation afterwards with the gentlemen to whom I have referred, and various other things—all these taken together inclined me to believe that there was a design on foot at one time, and that if they could succeed they would do it. But I could not look upon the matter as they did. I considered Maryland peculiarly circumstanced, and, in my judgment, such a thing must end in the destruction of the State of Maryland.

Question. Have you ever been informed verbally, or have you ever received letters from any persons known to you to be responsible men, that the person so speaking or writing had a personal knowledge that there was a conspiracy in existence for attacking the property of the government in this District?

Answer. No, sir ; nothing except in that general way.

Question. What did he tell you?

Answer. That it was a certain, positive design. He spoke of numbers of armed men in the cities of Baltimore and Washington who were engaged in it.

Question. He stated that to you as positively a fact within his knowledge—that there was such a design?

Answer. Not that exactly ; but that he had heard it talked of. He spoke of such an organization, when his brother, who was present, chided him for being connected with such persons, saying he was not engaged in anything of the sort ; and then gave his reasons, from knowing about it from other people, being in his position here, attending caucuses, &c.

Question. What I desired to know was, whether any responsible person ever informed you, verbally or in writing, that he knew of the existence of any such organization?

Answer. No, sir ; I think not.

Question. All your belief is based on inferences and reports?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you ever communicated to Lieutenant General Scott that there was a conspiracy in existence to seize this District or this Capitol?

Answer. No, sir ; I think, however, it would be improper for me to communicate anything that has passed between us in that way. He is a public functionary, and so am I ; and I think it is not proper, unless the committee should decide otherwise, that I should repeat anything that has passed in that way. I do not hesitate to say that there has been a very limited correspondence between General Scott and myself.

Mr. BRANCH. The object of the inquiry is simply to ascertain whether the troops of the regular army have been stationed in this city by General Scott upon information communicated by Governor Hicks, in order that the House, after seeing all the information upon the subject, may see the propriety of requesting the withdrawal of those troops.

IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WITNESS. I can settle that without going any further here before I wrote a syllable to General Scott.

CHAIRMAN. The disposition of the troops is not a matter within the control of the House of Representatives, much less of this com-

MITTEE. Only to request.

CHAIRMAN. The President of the United States is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States. In the use of the troops he is limited only to such disposition of them as would not be an act of war against a foreign government. He cannot declare war, and we cannot control the troops.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I do not see how we can do anything.

Mr. BRANCH. I will not press the question.

By Mr. BRANCH:

Question. From all the knowledge within your reach, from all your sources of information, verbal and written, are you of the opinion that there has been at any time any organization gotten up with a view to attack the government and its property in this District?

Answer. I firmly believe that there has been. I do not believe it exists now; I believe it has been disbanded.

Question. At what period of time do you think that organization was in existence?

Answer. I do not say that it was in existence, but that I firmly believe that there was such an effort being made at one period. I believe so from the facts and circumstances brought to my knowledge. It may be that it is in existence now, as far I know; but I do not believe it is. I have very little doubt that there are secret organizations now in the city of Baltimore, limited in numbers and in power.

Question. Having for its object an attack upon the government property in this District?

Answer. No, sir; but for the purpose of thwarting the regular course of public affairs. These are mere matters of opinion, based upon such information as I have stated here; I cannot put my finger upon any fact or individual that I know to be directly connected with it. But I think there is quite as good reason for believing what I do believe as there was for believing in the letters sent to Secretary Floyd in regard to the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry. I think from all that I know that the letters I have received are much stronger than those were.

Question. Have you any information in your possession, other than you have already communicated to the committee, tending to show the existence of a conspiracy to attack the government and its property in this District?

Answer. I have nothing that goes beyond what I have already stated, yet I have information looking to the same point that I do not think proper to give to the committee, unless directly required to do so.

Question. In reference to your conversation with this committee that visited you, did I understand you to say that they stated to you that they knew of an organization in existence to attack the

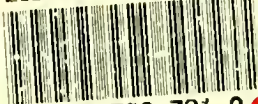
LEGED HOSTILE ORGANIZATION.

of
re

its property in this District, or did you
from. ersation.

Ans. O, sir; I only spoke of that as a circumstance
ing me in my belief that there was some design of that so
taunting me, and referring to my personal safety if I declined
the legislature together; that, with other things, tended to confi
in the belief that there was some such design in contemplation.
[The above was examined and corrected by the witness.]

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 013 703 721 A ●